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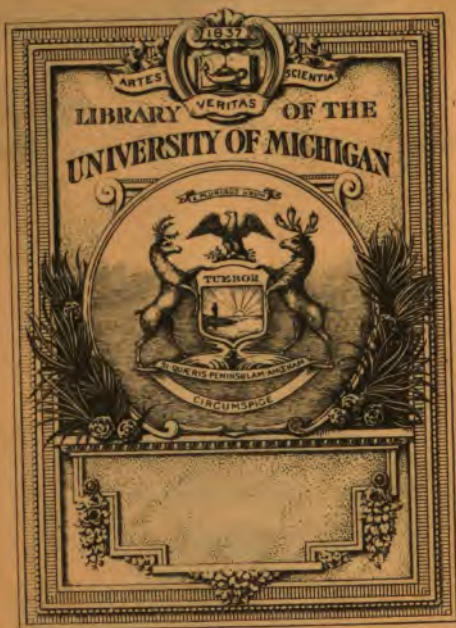
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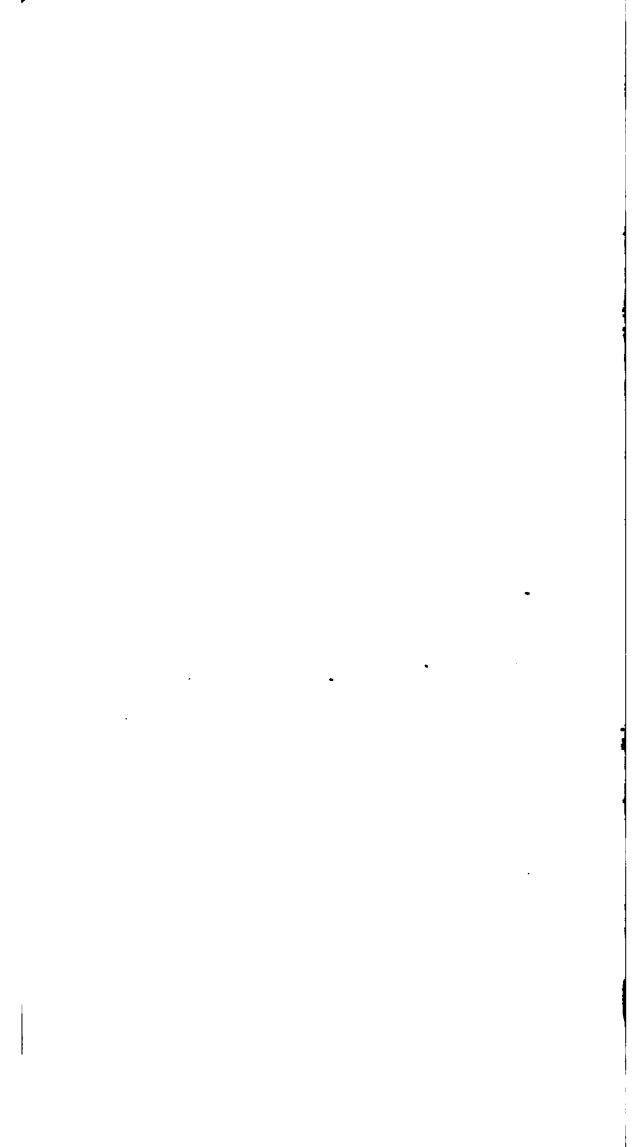
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Bishop BURNET'S
TRAVELS

THROUGH
FRANCE, ITALY, GERMANY,
and SWITZERLAND :

Describing their Religion, Learning, Government, Customs, Natural History, Trade, &c.

And illustrated with curious observations on the Buildings, Paintings, Antiquities, and other curiosities in Art and Nature.

With a detection of the frauds and folly of Popery and Superstition in some flagrant instances, also characters of several eminent persons, and many other memorable things worthy the attention of the curious.

Written by the Bishop to the Hon. ROBERT BOYLE.

To which is added,

An APPENDIX, containing remarks on *Switzerland* and *Italy*, by a person of Quality, and communicated to the Author.

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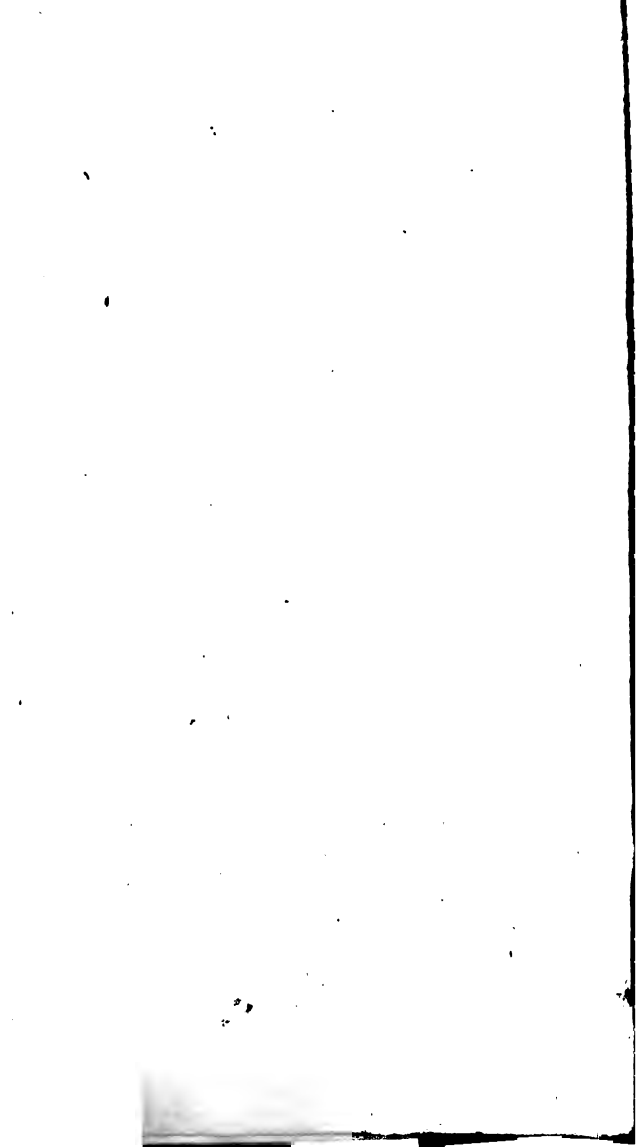
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A short CHARACTER of the Bishop and his Works. .

HE had great abilities both natural and acquired; was very inquisitive after knowledge, of great integrity, an excellent judge of men and things, and a most zealous advocate for the liberties of mankind, civil and religious, abhorring persecution of all kinds; consequently his memory will be esteemed by all the wise and good, and can have no enemies, except among bigots, fools, and knaves. His excellent history of the Reformation, and other works, will transmit his name to the latest posterity. In regard to the following piece, it surpasses infinitely any thing in its kind extant, in the style, sentiments, matter, method, &c.; and the fine spirit of liberty that shines through it, is admirable. No doubt he exerted himself in an extraordinary manner in the composition, having chose so illustrious a genius for his patron. To conclude, he certainly was one of the greatest men of his time, and an ornament to his country, liberty, and religion.



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T R A V E L S.

T R A V E L S

T H R O U G H

FRANCE, ITALY, GERMANY, and
SWITZERLAND.

L E T T E R I.

S I R,

IT is so common to write travels, that, for one who has seen so little, and as it were in haste, it may look like a presumptuous affectation to be reckoned among voyagers, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a ramble, and concerning places so much visited, and by consequence so well known: yet, having had opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that travel, and having joined to those a curiosity almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful entertainment, if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed. But I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary books; for which I refer you to the prints. For as you know that I have no great inclination to copy what others have said, so a traveller has not leisure nor humour enough for so dull an employment.

As I came all the way from Paris to Lyons, I was amazed to see so much misery as appeared,

A

not

not only in villages, but even in big towns; where all the marks of an extreme poverty shewed themselves, both in the buildings, the cloaths, and almost in the looks of the inhabitants. And a general dispeopling in all the towns, was a very visible effect of the hardships under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular, and yet magnificent situation of Lyons, of the noble rivers that meet there, of the rock cut from so vast a height for a prison, of the Carthusians gardens, of the town-house, of the Jesuits college and library, of the famous nunnery of St Peter, of the churches, particularly St Irenee's, of the remnants of the aqueducts, of the columns, and the old mosaic in the abbey Dene. In short, Mr Spon has given such an account of the curiosities there, that it were a very presumptuous attempt to offer to come after him.

The speech of Claudius, ingraven on a plate of brass, and set at the end of the low walk in the town-house, is one of the noblest antiquities in the world; by which we see the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiously. The shield of silver, of twenty-two pound weight, in which some remains of gilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of Scipio's, of restoring a fair captive to a Celtiberian prince, is certainly the noblest piece of plate that is now extant. The embossing of it is so fine and so entire, that it is indeed invaluable; and if there were an inscription upon it, to put us beyond conjecture, it were yet much more estimable.

A great many inscriptions are to be seen of the late and barbarous ages; as *Bonum memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*. There are twenty three inscriptions in the garden of the Fathers of Mercy; but so placed as shew how little those who possess them do either understand or value them. I shall only
give

give you one, because I made a little reflection on it; though it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the critics have thought on it. The inscription is this.

D. M.

Et Memoriae Aeternae

SUTIAE ANTHIDIS,

Quae vixit annis xxv. M. XI. DV.

Quae dum Nimia Pia fuit, facta est Impia:

Et ATTIO PROBATIOLO, CECALIO CALISTIO

Conjux & Pater,

Et sibi vivo ponendum curavit.

Et sub ascia dedicavit.

This must be towards the barbarous age, as appears by the false Latin in *Nimia*. But the inscription seems so extravagant, that a man dedicating a burial-stone for his wife and son, and under which himself was to be laid with ceremonies of religion, should tax his wife of impiety, and give so extraordinary an account of her becoming so through an excess of piety, that it deserves some consideration.

It seems the impiety was public, otherwise a husband would not have recorded it in such a manner; and it is plain, that he thought it arose from an excess of piety.

I need not examine the conjectures of others; but will chuse rather to give you my own, and submit it to your censure.

It seems to me, that this Suttia Anthidis was a Christian; for the Christians, because they would not worship the gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their sacred rites, were accused both of Atheism and impiety. This is so often objected, and the fathers in their apologies have answered it so often, that it were lost labour to prove it. So this wife of Cecalio Calistio ha-

ving turned Christian, it seems he thought he was bound to take some notice of it in the inscription. But by it he gives an honourable character of the Christian doctrine, at the same time that he seems to accuse it, *viz.* that through an excess of piety his wife was carried to it; since a mind seriously possessed with a true sense of piety, could not avoid falling under a distaste of Paganism, and becoming Christian.

At Grenoble there is not much to be seen. The learned Mr Chorier has some manuscripts of considerable antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de re militari*, there is a clear correction of a passage that in all the printed editions is not sense. In the chapter of the size of the soldiers, he begins, *Scio semper mensuram a Mario Consule exactam.* *a* is in no manuscript, and *Mario Consule* is a mistake for *trium Cubitorum*: for III. which are for *trium*, have been read for *M*; and *C*, which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read *Consule*. So the true reading of that passage is, *Scio mensuram trium cubitorum fuisse semper exactam.* He shewed me another manuscript of about five or six hundred years old; in which St John's Revelation is contained, all exemplified in figures; and after that comes *Æsop's* fables, likewise all designed in figures; from which he inferred, that those who designed the two books, valued both equally, and so put them together.

I will not describe the Valley of Dauphine, all to Chambery; nor entertain you with a landskip of the country, which deserves a better pencil than mine; and in which the height and rudeness of the mountains, that almost shut upon it, together with the beauty, the evenness, and fruitfulness of the valley, that is all along well watered with the river *Lierre*, make such an agreeable mixture, that

that this vast diversity of objects that do at once fill the eye, give it a very entertaining prospect.

Chambery has nothing in it that deserves a long description; and Geneva is too well known to be much insisted on. It is a little state; but it has so many good constitutions in it, that the greatest may justly learn of it. The chamber of the corn has always two years provision for the city in store, and forces none but the bakers to buy of it at a taxed price: and so it is both necessary against any extremities under which the state may fall; and is likewise of great advantage; for it gives a good yearly income, that has helped the state to pay near a million of debts contracted during the wars. And the citizens are not oppressed by it; for every inhabitant may buy his own corn as he pleases, only public houses must buy from the chamber. And if one will compare the faith of Rome and Geneva together by this particular, he would be forced to prefer the latter: for if *good works* are a strong presumption, if not a sure indication, of a *good faith*, then *justice* being a good work of the first form, Geneva will certainly carry it.

At Rome the Pope buys in all the corn of the *patrimony*; for none of the landlords can sell it, either to merchants or bakers. He buys it at five crowns their measure; and even that is slowly and ill paid; so that there was eight hundred thousand crowns owing upon that score when I was at Rome. In selling this out, the measure is lessened a fifth part, and the price of the whole is doubled; so that what was bought at five crowns, is sold out at twelve; and if the bakers, who are obliged to take a determined quantity of corn from the chamber, cannot retake out all that is imposed upon them, but are forced to return some part of it back, the chamber discounts to them only the first price of five crowns. Whereas in Geneva, the measure

by which they buy and sell is the same; and the gain is so inconsiderable, that it is very little beyond the common market-price: so that, upon the whole matter, the chamber of the corn is but the merchant to the state. But if the public makes a moderate gain by the corn, that, and all the other revenues of this small commonwealth, are so well employed, that there is no cause of complaint given in the administration of the public purse, which, with the advantages that arise out of the chamber of the corn, is about an hundred thousand crowns revenue. But there is much to go out of this. Three hundred soldiers are paid; an arsenal is maintained, that, in proportion to the state, is the greatest in the world, for it contains arms for more men than are in the state. There is a great number of ministers and professors, in all twenty-four, paid out of it, besides all the public charges and offices of the government; every one of the lesser council of twenty-five having an hundred crowns, and every syndic having two hundred crowns pension; and, after all this, come the accidental charges of the deputies, that they are obliged to send often to Paris, to Savoy, and to Switzerland: so that it is very apparent no man can enrich himself at the cost of the public. And the appointments of the *little council* are a very small recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the public, which is commonly four or five hours a-day. The salary for the professors and ministers is indeed small, not above two hundred crowns; but, to balance this, (which was a more competent provision when it was first set off a hundred and fifty years ago, the price of all things and the way of living being now much heightened), those employments are here held in their due reputation; and the richest citizens in the town breed up their children so as to qualify them for those

those places. And a minister that is suitable to his character, is thought so good a match, that generally they have such estates, either by succession or marriage, as support them suitably to the rank they hold. And in Geneva there is so great a regulation upon expences of all sorts, that a small sum goes a great way. It is a surprising thing to see so much learning as one finds in Geneva, not only among those whose profession obliges them to study, but among the magistrates and citizens. And if there are not many men of the first form of learning among them, yet almost every body here has a good tincture of a learned education, insomuch that they are masters of the Latin, they know history, and the controversies of religion, and are generally men of good sense.

There is an universal civility, not only towards strangers, but towards one another, that reigns all the town over, and leans to an excess: so that in them one sees a mixture of a French openness, and an Italian exactness. There is indeed a little too much of the last.

The public justice of the city is quick and good, and is more commended than the private justice of those that deal in trade. A want of sincerity is much lamented by those that know the town well. There is no public lewdness tolerated, and the disorders of that sort are managed with great address. And notwithstanding their neighbourhood to the Switzers, drinking is very little known among them. One of the best parts of their law, is the way of selling estates, which is likewise practised in Switzerland, and is called *subbasta*tion, from the Roman custom of selling *sub hasta*. A man that is to buy an estate, agrees with the owner, and then intimates it to the government; who order three several proclamations to be made six weeks one after another, of the intended sale that is to be

be on such a day. When the day comes, the creditors of the seller, if they apprehend that the estate is sold at an undervalue, may outbid the buyer: but if they do not interpose, the buyer delivers the money to the state, who upon that gives him his title to the estate, which can never be so much as brought under a debate in law; and the price is paid in to the state, and is by them given, either to the creditors of the seller, if he owes money, or to the seller himself.

This custom prevails likewise in Suisse, where also twelve years possession gives a prescription; so that in no place of the world are the titles to estates so secure as here. The constitution of the government is the same both in Geneva and in most of the cantons. The sovereignty lies in the council of two hundred; and this council chooses out of its number twenty-five, who are the *lesser council*; and the censure of the *twenty-five* belongs to the *great council*. They are chosen by a sort of ballot, so that it is not known for whom they give their votes; which is an effectual method to suppress factions and resentments, since in a competition no man can know who voted for or against him. Yet the election is not so carried, but that the whole town is in an intrigue concerning it: for since the being of the *little council* leads one to the *syndicate*, which is the chief honour of the state, this dignity is courted here with as active and solicitous an ambition as appears elsewhere for greater matters. The *two hundred* are chosen and censured by the *twenty-five*; so that these two councils, which are both for life, are check one upon another. The magistracy is in the one; and the sovereignty in the other. The number of *twenty-five* is never exceeded in the *lesser council*; but for the greater, though it passes by the name of *The council of two hundred*, yet there are commonly eight or ten more; so that, notwithstanding

notwithstanding the absence or sickness of some of the members, they may still be able to call together near the full number. There is another council besides these two, composed of sixty, consisting of those of the *two hundred* that have borne offices, such as auditors, attorney-generals; or those that have been in other employments, which are given for a determinate number of years. This court has no authority; but is called together by the *twenty-five*, when any extraordinary occasion makes it advisable for them to call for a more general concurrence in the resolutions they are about to form. And this council is of the nature of a council of state, that only gives advice, but has no power in itself to enforce its advice. The whole body of the burgeses chuse the syndics the first Sunday of the year; and there are some other elections that do likewise belong to them. The difference between the burgeses and citizens is, that the former degree may be bought, or given to strangers, and they are capable to be of the *two hundred*; but none is a citizen, but he that is the son of a burges, and that is born within the town.

I need say no more of the constitution of this little republic. Its chief support is in the firm alliance that has stood now so long between it and the cantons of Bern and Zurich. And it is so visibly the interest of all Switzerland to preserve it, as the key by which it may be all laid open, that if the cantons had not forgotten their interest so palpably, in suffering the French to become masters of the Franche Comte, one would think that they would not be capable of suffering Geneva to be touched: for all that can be done in fortifying the town, can signify no more, than to put it in a case to resist a surprise or scalade; since, if a royal army comes against it to besiege it in form, it is certain, that unless the Switzers come down with a force

ab'

able to raise the siege, those within will be able to make but a very short resistance.

From Geneva I went through the country of Vaud, or the Valley, and Lausanne its chief town, in my way to Bern. The town of Lausanne is situated on three hills; so that the whole town is ascent and descent, and that very steep, chiefly on the side on which the church stands, which is a very noble fabric. The south wall of the cross was so split by an earthquake about thirty years ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a foot wide; which was so closed up ten years after by another earthquake, that now one only sees where the breach was. This extravagant situation of the town was occasioned by a legend of some miracles wrought near the church: which prevailed so much on the credulity of that age, that by it the church, and so in consequence the buildings near it, were added to the old town, which stood on the other hill, where there was a town made on the highway from the lake into Switzerland; to which the chief privileges of the town, particularly the judicature of life and death, do still belong. Between Geneva and this lies the lake, which at the one end is called the lake of Geneva; and at the other the lake of Lausanne. I need not mention the dimensions of it, which are so well known; only in some places the depth has never been found, for it is more than five hundred fathom. The banks of the lake are the beautifullest plots of ground that can be imagined; for they look as if they had been laid by art. The sloping is so easy and so equal, and the grounds are so well cultivated and peopled, that a more delightful prospect cannot be seen any where. The lake is well stocked with excellent fish; but their numbers do sensibly decrease, and one sort is quite lost. It is not only to be ascribed to the ravenous-

ness

ness of the pikes that abound in it, but to another sort of fish that they call *moutails*, which were never taken in the lake till within these six years last past. They are in the lake of Neufchatel, and some of the other lakes of Switzerland; and it is likely that, by some conveyance under ground, they may have come into channels that fall into this lake. The water of the lake is all clear and fresh. It is not only a great pond made by the Rhone, that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmixed; as some travellers have fondly imagined, because sometimes a soft gale makes a curling of the water in some places, which runs smooth in the places over which that soft breath of wind does not pass, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed that there are also many great fountains all over the lake. These springs do very probably flow from some vast cavities that are in the neighbouring mountains, which are as great cisterns, that discharge themselves in the vallies which are covered over with lakes. And on the two sides of the Alps, both north and south, there is so great a number of those little seas, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast sources, that feed so constantly those huge ponds. And when one considers the height of those hills, the chain of so many of them together, and their extent both in length and breadth; if at first he thinks of the old fables of laying one hill upon the top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagine, according to the ingenious conjecture of one that travelled over them oftener than once, that these cannot be the primary productions of the Author of Nature, but are the vast ruins of the first world, which at the deluge broke here into so many inequalities.

One hill not far from Geneva, called *Maudit*, or *Cursed*, of which one third is always covered with

with snow, is two miles of perpendicular height, according to the observation of that incomparable mathematician and philosopher Nicolas Fatio Duillier, who, at twenty-two years of age, is already one of the greatest men of his age, and seems to be born to carry learning some fizes beyond what it has yet attained.

But now I will entertain you a little with the state of Bern; for that canton alone is above a third part of all Switzerland. I will say nothing of its beginning or history, nor will I enlarge upon the constitution; which are all well known. It has a *council of two hundred*, that goes by that name, though it consists almost of three hundred; and another of *twenty-five*, as Geneva. The chief magistrates are two *advoyers*; who are not annual, as the syndics of Geneva, but are for life, and have an authority not unlike that of the Roman consuls, each being his year by turns the *advoyer* in office. After them there are the four *bannovets*, who answer to the tribunes of the people in Rome; then come the two *baufars* or treasurers; one for the ancient German territory, the other for the French territory, or the country of Vaud; and the two last chosen of the *twenty-five*, are called the *secrets*; for to them all secrets relating to the state are discovered; and they have an authority of calling the *two hundred* together when they think fit, and of accusing those of the magistracy, the *advoyers* themselves not excepted, as they see cause; though this falls out seldom.

There are seventy-two *bailiages*, into which the whole canton of Bern is divided; and in every one of those there is a *bailiff* named by the *council of two hundred*, who must be a citizen of Bern, and one of the *two hundred*; to which council no man can be chosen till he is married. These *bailiages* are employments both of honour and profit; for the

the *bailiff* is the governor and judge in that jurisdiction: since though he has some *assessors*, who are chosen out of the *bailiage*; yet he may by his authority carry matters which way he will, against all their opinions. And the *bailiffs* have all the confiscations and fines: so that drinking being so common in the country, and that producing many quarrels, the *bailiff* makes his advantage of all those disorders; and in the six years of his government, according to the quality of his *bailiage*, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps twenty thousand crowns with him back to Bern: on which he lives till he can carry another *bailiage*; for one is capable of being twice *bailiff*: and though some have been thrice *bailiffs*, this is very extraordinary. The exactions of the *bailiff* are the only impositions or charges to which the inhabitants are subjected; and these falling only on the irregularities and disorders of the more debauched, makes that this grievance, though in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt; for a sober and regular man is in no danger. Many in this canton are (as in England) lords of castles or manors, and have a jurisdiction annexed to their estates; and name their magistrate, who is called the *castellan*. In matters of small consequence, there lies no appeal from him to the *bailiff*; but beyond the value of two pistoles, an appeal lies; and no sentence of death is executed till it is confirmed at Bern. There lies also an appeal from the *bailiff* to the council at Bern. There are many complaints of the injustice of the *bailiffs*; but their law is short and clear; so that a suit is soon ended. Two or three hearings are the most that even an intricate suit amounts to, either in the first instance before the *bailiff*, or in the second judgment at Bern. The citizens of Bern consider these *bailiages* as their inheritance: and they are courted in this state per-

haps with as much intrigue, as was ever used among the Romans in the distribution of their provinces. And so little signify the best regulations, when there are intrinsic diseases in a state, that though there is all possible precaution used in the nomination of these *bailiffs*; yet that has not preserved this state from falling under so great a mischief by those little provinces; that as it has already in a great measure corrupted their morals, so it may likely turn in conclusion to the ruin of this republic. All the electors give their voices by ballot; so that they are free from all after-game in the nomination of the person. All the kindred of the pretenders, even to the remotest degree, are excluded from voting, as are also all their creditors; so that none can vote but those who seem to have no interest in the issue of the competition: and yet there is so much intrigue, and so great a corruption in the distribution of these employments, that the whole business in which all Bern is ever in motion, is, the catching of the best *bailiages*; on which a family will have its eye for many years before they fall. For the counsellors of Bern give but a very small share of their estates to their children when they marry them. All that they propose, is, to make a *bailiage* sure to them. For this they feast and drink, and spare nothing by which they may make sure a sufficient number of votes; but it is the chamber of the *bannerets* that admits the pretenders to the competition. When the *bailiff* is chosen, he takes all possible methods to make the best of it he can; and lets few crimes pass, that carry either confiscations or fines after them. His justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the *bailiage* may complain to the council at Bern, as the oppressed provinces did anciently to the senate of Rome; and there have been severe judgments against some very exorbitant *bailiffs*: yet as complaints are not made, except upon great occasions,

sions, which are not often given by the *bailiffs*; so it being the general interest of the citizens of Bern to make all possible advantages of those employments, the censure will be but gentle, except the complaint is crying.

In Bern there is very little trade, only what is necessary for the support of the town. They maintain professors in the universities of Bern and Lausanne; the one for the German territory, which is the ancient canton; and the other for the new conquest, which is the French. In the former, there are about three hundred parishes; in the latter, there are about one hundred and fifty. But, in the benefices of the German side, the ancient rights of the incumbents are generally preserved so, that some benefices are worth a thousand crowns; whereas in the Pais de Vaud the provisions are set off as salaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred crowns. It is visible, that those of Bern trust more to the affections and fidelity of their subjects, than to the strength of their walls: for as they have never finished them, so what is built cannot be brought to a regular fortification. And it is not preserved with any care; nor furnished with cannon: but, if they have none on their ramparts, they have good store in their arsenal; in which, they say, there are arms for forty thousand men.

The peasants are generally rich, chiefly on the German side, and are all well armed. They pay no duties to the public, and the soil is capable of great cultivation; in which some succeed so well, that I was shewed some that were by accident at Bern, who, as I was told, had of estate to the value of an hundred thousand crowns; but that is not ordinary; yet ten thousand crowns for a peasant is no extraordinary matter. They live much on their milk and corn; which in some places, as about

Payern, yields an increase of fifteen measures after one. They breed many horses, which bring them in a great deal of money. The worst thing in the country, is the moisture of the air; which is not only occasioned by the many lakes that are in it, and the neighbouring mountains that are covered with snow, some all the summer long, and the rest till midsummer, but by the vast quantity of woods of fir-trees, which seem to fill very near half of their soil. And if these were for the most part rooted out, as they would have much more soil, so their air would be much purer. Yet till they find either coal or turf for their fuel, this cannot be done. I was told that they had found coal in some places. If the coal is conveniently situated, so that by their lakes and rivers it can be easily carried over the country, it may save them a great extent of ground, that as it is covered with wood, so the air becomes thereby the more unwholesome.

They have some fountains of salt water; but the making salt consumes so much wood, that hitherto it has not turned to any account.

The men are generally sincere, but heavy. They think it necessary to correct the moisture of the air with liberal entertainments: and they are well furnished with all necessary ingredients; for as their soil produces good cattle, so their lakes abound in fish, and their woods in fowl. The wine is also light and good. The women are generally employed in their domestic affairs; and the wives even of the chief magistrates of Bern look into all the concerns of the house and kitchen, as much as the wives of the meanest peasants. Men and women do not converse promiscuously together; and the women are so much amused with the management at home, and enter so little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent physician there told me, *they know not what vapours are*, which he imputed

imputed to the idleness and intrigues that abound elsewhere: whereas, he said, among them the blood was cleansed by their labour; and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much thinking, nor did they know what amours were. The third adultery is punished with death; which is also the punishment of the fifth act of fornication; of which I saw an instance while I was in Bern: for a woman who confessed herself guilty of many whoredoms, and designed to be revenged on some men that did not furnish her liberally with money, was upon that condemned and executed. The manner was solemn: for the *advoyer* comes into an open bench in the middle of the street; and, for the satisfaction of the people, the whole process was read, and sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all; the counsellors both of the great and lesser council standing about the *advoyer*, who, after sentence, took the criminal very gently by the hand, and prayed for her soul; and, after execution, there was a sermon for the instruction of the people.

The whole state is disposed for war: for every man that can bear arms is lifted, and knows his post and arms; and there are beacons so laid over the country, that the signal can run over the whole canton in a night; and their military lists are so laid, that every man knows whether he is to come out upon the first or second, or not till the general summons. They assured me at Bern, that, upon a general summons, they could bring above eighty thousand men together. The men are robust and strong, and capable of great hardship, and of good discipline, and have generally an extreme sense of liberty, and a great love to their country; but they labour under a want of officers. And though the subjects of the state are rich, yet the public is poor. They can well resist a sudden in-

vasion of their country ; but they would soon grow weary of a long war ; and the soil requires so much cultivation, that they could not spare from their labour the men that would be necessary to preserve their country. They were indeed as happy as a people could be, when the Emperor had Alsace on the one hand, and the Spaniards had the Franche Comte on the other. They had then no reason to fear their neighbours. But now that both those provinces are in the hands of the French, the case is quite altered : for as Basil is every moment in danger from the garrison of Hunningen, that is but a cannon-shot distant from it ; so all the Pais de Vaud lies open to the Franche Comte, and has neither fortified places nor good passes to secure it. So that their error in suffering this to fall into the hands of the French was so gross, that I took some pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this account, that I had from one who was then in a very eminent post ; so that as he certainly knew the secret, he seemed to speak sincerely to me. He told me, that the Duke of Lorraine had often moved in the councils of war, that the invasion of France ought to be made on that side in which France lay open, and was very ill fortified. This he repeated often, and it was known in France ; so that the King resolved to possess himself of the Comte ; but used that precaution, that, fearing to provoke the Switzers, he offered a neutrality on that side. But the Spaniards, who judged right, that it was as much the interest of the cantons, as it was theirs, to preserve the Comte in their hands, refused to consent to it ; but they took no care to defend it, and seemed to leave that to the Switzers.

In the mean while, the French money went about very liberally at Bern ; and, after those that were most likely to make opposition were gained,
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the French minister proposed to them the necessity in which his master found himself engaged to secure himself on that side; but that still he would grant a neutrality on their account, if the Spaniards would agree to it. And with this all the assurances that could be given in words were offered to them, that they should never find the least prejudice from the neighbourhood of the French, but, on the contrary, all possible protection. There was just cause given by the Spaniards to consider them very little in their deliberation; for they would neither accept of the neutrality, nor send a considerable force to preserve the country; so that it seemed almost inevitable to give way to the French proposition. But one proposed that which an unbiassed assembly would certainly have accepted, that they should go themselves and take the country, and by so doing they would secure the neutrality, which was all the French pretended to desire; and they might easily satisfy the Spaniards, and reimburse themselves of the expence of the invasion, by restoring the country to them, when a general peace should be made. He laid out the misery to which their country must be reduced by so powerful a neighbour; but all was lost labour: so he went out in a rage, and published through the town, that *the state was sold, and all was lost*. They now see their error too late, and would repair it if it were possible. But the truth is, many of the particular members of this state do so prey upon the public, that unless they do with one consent reform those abuses, they will never be in a condition to do much: for, in many of their *bailiages*, of which some are *abbeyes*, the *bailiffs* not only feed on the subjects, but likewise on the state; and pretend they are so far superexpended, that they discount a great deal of the public revenue (of which they are the receivers) for their reimbursement. Which
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made Mr D'Erlack once say, when one of those accounts was presented, *That it was very strange, if the abbey could not feed the monks.* It is true, the power of their *bannerets* is so great, that one would think *they* might redress many abuses. The city of Bern is divided into four bodies, not unlike our companies of London; which are, the bakers, the butchers, the tanners, and the blacksmiths; and every citizen of Bern doth incorporate himself into one of these societies, which they call *abbeyes*; for it is likely they were anciently a sort of religious fraternity. Every one of these chuses two *bannerets*, who bear office by turns from four years to four years; and every one of them has a *bailiage* annexed to his office, which he holds for life. They carry their name from the *banners* of the several *abbeyes*, as the *gonfaloniers* of Italy; and the *advoyers* carry still their name from the ancient title *ecclarius*, or *advocate*, that was the title of the chief magistrates of the towns in the times of the Roman Emperors. The chamber of the four *bannerets* that bear office have a vast power. They examine and pass all accounts, and they admit all the competitors to any offices; so that no man can be proposed to the council of two hundred without their approbation. And this being now the chief intrigue of their state, they have so absolute an authority in shutting men out from employments, that their office, which is for life, is no less considerable than that of the *advoyer*, though they are inferior to him in rank. They manage matters with great address; of which this instance was given me in a competition for the *advoyership* not long ago. There was one whose temper was violent, that had made it so sure among those that were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his kindred nor alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other competitor whom they favoured; so they set up a third competitor, whose

whose kindred were the persons that were made sure to him whose advancement they opposed; and by this means they were all shut out from voting, so that the election went according to the designs of the *bannerets*. The chief man now in Bern, who was the reigning *advoyer* when I was there, is Mr D'Erlack, nephew to that Mr D'Erlack who was governor of Brisack, and had a brevet to be a Marshal of France. This is one of the noblest families in Bern, that acted a great part in shaking off the Austrian tyranny; and they have been ever since very much distinguished there from all the rest of their nobility. The present head of it is a very extraordinary man. He has a great authority in his canton, not only as he is *advoyer*, but by the particular esteem which is paid him. For he is thought the wisest and worthiest man of the state; though it is somewhat strange, how he should bear so great a sway in such a government, for he neither feasts nor drinks with the rest. He is a man of great sobriety and gravity, very reserved; and behaves himself more like a minister of state in a monarchy, than a magistrate in a popular government; for one sees in him none of those arts that seem necessary in such a government. He has a great estate, and no children; so he has no projects for his family, and does what he can to correct the abuses of the state; though the disease is inveterate, and seems past cure.

He had a misfortune in a war that was thirty years ago (in the year 1656) between the Popish and the Protestant cantons; the occasion of which will engage me in a short digression. The peace of Switzerland is chiefly preserved by a law agreed on among all the cantons, that every canton may make what regulations concerning religion they think fit, without prejudice to the general league. Now the Popish cantons have made laws, that it shall

shall be capital to any to change their religion ; and, on a set day every year, they go all to mass, and the masters of families swear to continue true to the state, and firm in their religion to their lives end ; and so they pretend they punish their falling into heresy with death and confiscation of goods, because it is a violation of the faith which is so solemnly sworn. But, on the other hand, in the Protestant cantons, such as turn, are only obliged to go and live out of the canton ; but for their estates, they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the merciful spirit of the gospel in the one, than in the other. In two cantons, Appenzel and Glaris, both religions are tolerated, and are capable of equal privileges ; and in some *bailiages* that were conquered in common by the cantons of Bern and Friburg, in the wars with Savoy, the two cantons name the *bailiffs* by turns ; and both religions are so equally tolerated, that in the same church they have both mass and sermon so equally, that on one Sunday the mass begins, and the sermon follows, and the next Sunday the sermon begins, and the mass comes after, without the least disorder or murmuring.

But, in the year 1656, some of the cantons of Schwitz changing their religion, and retiring to Zurich, their estates were confiscated ; and some others that had also changed, but had not left the canton, were taken and beheaded. Zurich demanded the estates of the refugees ; but, instead of granting this, the canton of Schwitz demanded back their subjects, that they might proceed against them as delinquents. And they founded this on a law by which the cantons are obliged to deliver up the criminals of another canton when they come among them, if they are demanded by the canton to which they belong. But those of Zurich
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and Bern thought this was both inhumane and unchristian; though the deputy of Basil was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up; which extremely disgusted those of Zurich. Those of Schwitz committed some insolencies upon the subjects of Zurich, and refused to give satisfaction. Upon all which a war followed between the Protestant and Popish cantons. The cantons of Bern and Zurich raised an army of twenty five thousand men, which was commanded by Mr D'Erlack, but was dispersed in several bodies: and the Papists, who had not above six thousand, yet surpris'd Mr D'Erlack with a body much superior to theirs. Both sides, after a short engagement, ran. The cannon of the canton of Bern was left in the field a whole day; at last those of Lucern, seeing that none staid to defend the cannon, carried them off. This loss rais'd such a tumult in Bern, that they seem'd resolv'd to sacrifice Mr D'Erlack; but he came with such a presence of mind, and gave so satisfying an account of the misfortune, that the tumult ceased, and soon after the war ended. Upon this many thought, that though the Papists acted cruelly; yet it was according to their laws, and that no other canton could pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of Schwitz for what they did upon that occasion. Within these few years there were some quarrels like to arise in the canton of Glaris; where it was said, that the equal privileges agreed on to both religions were not preserved. But on this occasion the Pope's nuncio acted a very different part from that which might have been expected from him. For whereas the ministers of that court have been commonly the incendiaries in all the disputes that concern religion, he acted rather the part of a mediator. And whereas it was visible, that the injustice lay on the side of the Papists, he interposed

fed so effectually with those of Lucern, which is the chief of the Popish cantons, that the difference was composed.

But to return to Bern. The buildings have neither great magnificence, nor many apartments; but they are convenient, and suited to the way of living in that country. The streets not only of Bern and the bigger towns, but even of the smallest villages, are furnished with fountains that run continually; which, as they are of great use, so they want not their beauty. The great church of Bern is a very noble fabric; but being built on the top of the hill on which the town stands, it seems the ground began to fail. So to support it they have raised a vast fabric, which has cost more than the church itself; for there is a platform made, which is a square; to which the church is one side; and the farther side is a vast wall, fortified with buttresses about an hundred and fifty foot high. They told me, that all the ground down to the bottom of the hill was dug into vaults. This platform is the chief walk of the town, chiefly about sunset; and the river underneath presents a very beautiful prospect: for there is a cut taken off from it for the mills; but all along as this cut goes, the water of the Aar runs over a sloping bank of stone, which they say was made at a vast charge, and makes a noble and large cascade.

The second church is the Dominicans chapel; where I saw the famous hole that went to an image in the church, from one of the cells of the Dominicans; which leads me to set down that story at some length: for as it was one of the most signal cheats that the world has known, so it falling out about twenty years before the reformation was received at Bern, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the spirits of the people to that change. I am the more able to give a particular

sicular account of it, because I read the original process in the Latin record, signed by the notaries of the court of delegates that the Pope sent to try the matter. The record is above one hundred and thirty sheets, writ close on both sides, it being indeed a large volume. And I found the printed accounts so defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole process; of which I will give here a true abstract.

The two famous orders that had possessed themselves of the esteem of those dark ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The Dominicans were the more learned; they were the eminentest preachers of those times, and had the conduct of the courts of inquisition, and the other chief offices in the church, in their hands. But, on the other hand, the Franciscans had an outward appearance of more severity, a ruder habit, stricter rules, and greater poverty; all which gave them such advantages in the eyes of the simple multitude, as were able to balance the other honours of the Dominican order. In short, the two orders were engaged in a high rivalry; but the devotion towards the virgin being the prevailing passion of those times, the Franciscans upon this had great advantages. The Dominicans, that are all engaged in the defence of Thomas Aquinas's opinions, were thereby obliged to assert, that she was born in original sin. This was proposed to the people by the Franciscans as no less than blasphemy; and by this the Dominicans began to lose ground extremely in the minds of the people, who were strongly prepossessed in favour of the immaculate conception.

About the beginning of the fifteenth century, a Franciscan happened to preach in Francfort; and one Wigand, a Dominican, coming into the church, the Cordelier seeing him, broke out into exclamations, praising God that he was not of an order
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that profaned the virgin, or that poisoned princes in the sacrament, (for a Dominican had poisoned the Emperor Henry VII. with the sacrament). Wiggand, being extremely provoked with this bloody reproach, gave him the lye; upon which a dispute arose, which ended in a tumult that had almost cost the Dominican his life; yet he got away. The whole order resolved to take their revenge; and in a chapter held at Vimpfen in the year 1504, they contrived a method for supporting the credit of their order, which was much sunk in the opinion of the people, and for bearing down the reputation of the Franciscans. Four of the junto undertook to manage the design; for they said, since the people were so much disposed to believe dreams and fables, they must dream on their side, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done. They resolved to make Bern the scene in which the project should be put in execution; for they found the people of Bern at that time apt to swallow any thing, and not disposed to make severe inquiries into extraordinary matters. When they had formed their design, a fit tool presented itself: for one Jetzer came to take their habit as a lay-brother, who had all the dispositions that were necessary for the execution of their project; for he was extreme simple, and much inclined to austerities. So, having observed his temper well, they began to execute their project the very night after he took the habit, which was on Ladyday 1507. One of the friers conveyed himself secretly into his cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in purgatory, in a strange figure; and he had a box near his mouth, upon which, as he blew, fire seemed to come out of his mouth. He had also some dogs about him that appeared as his tormentors. In this posture he came near the frier while he was in bed, and took up a celebrated story that they

they used to tell all their friers, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aside their habit; which was, that one of the order, who was superior of their house at Solothurn, had gone to Paris, but, laying aside his habit, was killed in his lay-habit. The frier in the vizard said he was that person, and was condemned to purgatory for that crime; but he added, that he might be rescued out of it by his means; and he seconded this with most horrible cries, expressing the miseries which he suffered. The poor frier Jetzer was excessively frightened; but the other advanced, and required a promise of him to do that which he should desire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his torment. The frightened frier promised all that he asked of him. Then the other said, he knew he was a great saint, and that his prayers and mortifications would prevail; but they must be very extraordinary. The whole monastery must for a week together discipline themselves with a whip, and he must lie prostrate in the form of one on a cross in one of their chapels, while mass was said, in the sight of all that should come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he should find the effects of the love that the blessed virgin did bear him; together with many other extraordinary things: and said he would appear again, accompanied with two other spirits; and assured him, that all that he did suffer for his deliverance, should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come, than the frier gave an account of this apparition to the rest of the convent; who seemed extremely surprised at it. They all pressed him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined him, and every one undertook to bear his share; so the deluded frier performed it all exactly in one of the chapels of their church. This drew a vast number of spectators together, who all con-

sidered the poor frier as a saint; and, in the mean while, the four friers that managed the imposture, magnified the miracle of the apparition to the skies in their sermons. The frier's confessor was in the secret; and by this means they knew all the little passages of the poor frier's life, even to his thoughts; which helped them not a little in the conduct of the matter. The confessor gave him an *bossie*, with a piece of wood, that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the cross; and by these he was to fortify himself if any other apparitions should come to him, since evil spirits would be certainly chained up by them. The night after that, the former apparition was renewed; and the masked frier brought two others with him in such vizards, that the frier thought they were devils indeed. The frier presented the *bossie* to them; which gave them such a check, that he was fully satisfied of the virtue of this preservative.

The frier that pretended he was suffering in purgatory, said so many things to him relating to the secrets of his life and thoughts, which he had from his confessor, that the poor frier was fully possessed with the opinion of the reality of the apparition. In two of these apparitions, that were both managed in the same manner, the frier in the mask talked much of the Dominican order, which, he said, was excessively dear to the blessed virgin, who knew herself to be conceived in original sin; and that the doctors who taught the contrary were in purgatory: that the story of St Bernard's appearing with a spot on him, for having opposed himself to the feast of the conception, was a forgery; but that it was true, that some hideous flies had appeared on St Bonaventure's tomb, who taught the contrary: that the blessed virgin abhorred the Cordeliers for making her equal to her son: that Scotus was damned, whose canonization the

the Cordeliers were then soliciting hard at Rome : and that the town of Bern would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within their walls. When the enjoined discipline was fully performed, the spirit appeared again, and said, he was now delivered out of purgatory ; but before he could be admitted to heaven, he must receive the sacrament, having died without it ; and after that he would say mass for those who had by their great charities rescued him out of his pains. The frier fancied the voice resembled the prior's a little ; but he was then so far from suspecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this suspicion. Some days after this the same frier appeared as a nun all in glory, and told the poor frier, that she was St Barbara, for whom he had a particular devotion ; and added, that the blessed virgin was so much pleased with his charity, that she intended to come and visit him. He immediately called the convent together, and gave the rest of the friers an account of this apparition ; which was entertained by them all with great joy ; and the frier languished in desires of the accomplishment of the promise that St Barbara had made him. After some days the longed-for delusion appeared to him, clothed as the virgin used to be on the great feasts, and indeed in the same habits. There were about her some angels, which he afterwards found were the little statues of angels which they set on the altars on the great holidays. There was also a pulley fastened in the room over his head, and a cord tied to the angels, that made them rise up in the air, and fleet about the virgin ; which increased the delusion. The virgin, after some endearments to himself, extolling the merit of his charity and discipline, told him, that she was conceived in original sin ; and that Pope Julius II. that then reigned, was to put an end to the dispute, and was to abolish

lish the feast of her conception, which Sixtus IV. had instituted; and that the frier was to be the instrument of persuading the Pope of the truth in that matter. She gave him three drops of her son's blood, which were three tears of blood that he had shed over Jerusalem; and this signified, that she was three hours in original sin, after which she was by his mercy delivered out of that state. For it seems the Dominicans were resolved so to compound the matter, that they should gain the main point, of her conception in sin; yet they would comply so far with the reverence for the virgin, with which the world was possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that state. She gave him' also five drops of blood in the form of a cross, which were tears of blood that she had shed while her son was on the cross. And to convince him more fully, she presented an *bossie* to him, that appeared as an ordinary *bossie*, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of those supposed visits was often repeated to the abused frier. At last the virgin told him, that she was to give such marks of her son's love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt. She said, that the five wounds of St Lucia and St Catharine were real wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him; so she bid him reach his hand. He had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to suffer so much; but she forced his hand, and struck a nail through it. The hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the candle clearly through it. This threw him out of a supposed transport into a real agony. But she seemed to touch his hand; and he thought he smelt an ointment with which she anointed it, though his confessor persuaded him that that was only an imagination. So the supposed virgin left him for that time.

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The next night the apparition returned, and brought some linen cloaths, which had some real or imaginary virtue to allay his torment; and the pretended virgin said, they were some of the linen in which Christ was wrapped; and with that she gave him a soporiferous draught, and, while he was fast asleep, the other four wounds were imprinted on his body in such a manner that he felt no pain.

But, in order to the doing of this, the friers betook themselves to charms; and the sub-prior shewed the rest a book full of them; but he said, that, before they could be effectual, they must renounce God: and he not only did this himself, but, by a formal act put in writing, signed with his blood, dedicated himself to the devil. It is true, he did not oblige the rest to this, but only to renounce God. The composition of the draught was a mixture of some fountain-water and chrism, the hairs of the eye-brows of a child, some quicksilver, some grains of incense, somewhat of an Easter wax-candle, some consecrated salt, and the blood of an unbaptized child. This composition was a secret, which the sub-prior did not communicate to the other friers. By this the poor frier Jetzer was made almost quite insensible. When he was awake, and came out of this deep sleep, he felt this wonderful impression on his body; and now he was ravished out of measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the parts of our Saviour's passion. He was exposed to the people on the great altar, to the amazement of the whole town, and to the no small mortification of the Franciscans. The Dominicans gave him some other draughts, that threw him into convulsions; and when he came out of those, a voice was heard, which came through that hole which yet remains, and runs from one of the cells along a great part

of the wall of the church : for a frier spoke through a pipe, and at the end of the hole there was an image of the virgin, with a little *Jefus* in her arms, between whom and his mother the voice seemed to come. The image also seemed to shed tears ; and a painter had drawn those on her face so lively, that the people were deceived by it. The little *Jefus* asked, Why she wept ? and she said, It was because his honour was given to her ; since it was said that she was born without sin. In conclusion, the friers did so over-act this matter, that at last even the poor deluded frier himself came to discover it, and resolved to quit the order.

It was in vain to delude him with more apparitions ; for he well nigh killed a frier that came to him personating the virgin in another shape with a crown on her head. He also overheard the friers once talking amongst themselves of the contrivance and success of the imposture so plainly, that he discovered the whole matter ; and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the horror with which such a discovery could inspire him.

The friers, fearing that an imposture, which was carried on with so much success, should be quite spoiled, and be turned against them, thought the surest way was, to own the whole matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the cheat. They told him in what esteem he would be, if he continued to support the reputation that he had acquired ; that he would become the chief person of the order ; and in the end they persuaded him to go on with the imposture. But at last, they fearing lest he should discover all, resolved to poison him ; of which he was so apprehensive, that once a loaf being brought him that was prepared with some spices, he kept it for some time, and it growing green, he threw it to some wolves which were in the monastery, who died immediately. His constitution

stitution was also so vigorous, that though they gave him poison five several times, he was not destroyed by it. They also pressed him earnestly to renounce God; which they judged necessary, that so their charms might have their effect on him; but he never would consent to that. At last they forced him to take a poisoned *hostie*, which yet he vomited up soon after he had swallowed it down. That failing, they used him so cruelly, whipping him with an iron chain, and girding him about so strait with it, that, to avoid farther torment, he swore to them in a most imprecating style, that he would never discover the secret, but would still carry it on; and so he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the convent, and of throwing himself into the hands of the magistrates, to whom he discovered all.

The four friers were seized on, and put in prison; and an account of the whole matter was sent, first to the Bishop of Lausanne, and then to Rome: and it may easily be imagined, that the Franciscans took all possible care to have it well examined. The Bishops of Lausanne and of Zyon, with the Provincial of the Dominicans, were appointed to form the process. The four friers first excepted to Jetzer's credit; but that was rejected. Then being threatened with the question, they put in a long plea against that: but though the Provincial would not consent to that, yet they were put to the question. Some endured it long; but at last they all confessed the whole progress of the imposture. The Provincial appeared concerned: for though Jetzer had opened the whole matter to him, yet he would give no credit to him; on the contrary, he charged him to be obedient to them; and one of the friers said plainly, that he was in the whole secret; and so he withdrew. But he died some days after at Constance, having poisoned himself, as was believed.

lieved. The matter lay asleep some time. But a year after that, a Spanish Bishop came, authorised with full power from Rome ; and the whole cheat being fully proved, the four friers were solemnly degraded from their priesthood ; and eight days after, it being the last of May 1509, they were burnt in a meadow on the other side of the river, over-against the great church. The place of their execution was shewed me, as well as the hole in the wall through which the voice was conveyed to the image. It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best carried on cheat that has been ever known ; and no doubt had the poor frier died before the discovery, it had passed down to posterity as one of the greatest miracles that ever was : and it gives a shrewd suspicion, that many of the other miracles of that church were of the same nature, but more successfully finished.

I shall not entertain you any farther with the state of Bern ; but shall only add one general remark, which was too visible not to be observed every where, and of too great importance not to deserve a particular reflection. It belongs in general to all the cantons ; but I give it here, because I had more occasion to make it in Bern, having seen it more, and staid longer in it, than in the other cantons.

Switzerland lies between France and Italy, that are both of them countries incomparably more rich, and better furnished with all the pleasures and conveniencies of life, than it is ; and yet Italy is almost quite dispeopled, and the people in it are reduced to a misery that can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it : and France is in a great measure dispeopled, and the inhabitants are reduced to a poverty that appears in all the marks in which it can shew itself, both in their houses, furniture, cloaths, and looks.

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On the contrary, Switzerland is extreme full of people ; and in several places, in the villages as well as in their towns, one sees all the marks he can look for of plenty and wealth ; their houses and windows are in good case, the high-ways are well maintained, all people are well clothed, and every one lives at his ease. This observation surprised me yet more in the country of the Grisons, who have hardly any soil at all, being situated in valleys that are almost all washed away with the torrents that fall down from the hills, and swell their brooks sometimes so violently and so suddenly, that in many places the whole soil is washed away ; and yet those valleys are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at ease under a gentle government : whilst other rich and plentiful countries are reduced to such misery, that as many of the inhabitants are forced to change their seats, so those who stay behind can scarce live, and pay those grievous impositions that are laid upon them. The rude people generally reason very simply when they enter into speculations of government ; but *they feel true, though they argue false*. So an easy government, though joined to an ill soil, and accompanied with great inconveniencies, draws, or at least keeps people in it ; whereas a severe government, though in general ideas it may appear reasonable, drives its subjects even out of the best and most desirable seats.

In my way from Bern to this place, I passed by Solothurn ; and I came through Fribourg, in my way from Lausanne to Bern. These are two of the chief of the Popish cantons after Lucern ; and one sees in them a heat and bigotry beyond what appears either in France or Italy. Long before they come within the church-doors, they kneel down in the streets when mass is saying in it. The images are also extreme gross. In the chief church
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of Solothurn, there is an image of God the Father as an old man, with a great black beard, having our Saviour on his knees, and a pigeon over his head. Here also begins a devotion at the *Ave-Mary* bell, which is scarce known in France, but is practised all Italy over. At noon and at sun-set the bell rings, and all say the *Ave-Mary*, and a short prayer to the virgin. But whereas in Italy they content themselves with putting off their hats, in Switzerland they do for the most part kneel down in the streets; which I saw no where practised in Italy, except at Venice, and there it is not commonly done. But, notwithstanding this extreme bigotry, all the Swissers see their common interest so well, that they live in a very good understanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the canton of Lucern, where there is a spirit in the government very different from what is in most of the other Popish cantons. The residence of the Spanish ambassador, and of the nuncio, in that town, contributes also much to the preserving it in so good a temper, it being their interest to unite Switzerland; and by this means the heat and indiscretion of the rest is often moderated. The Jesuits begin to grow as powerful in Switzerland as they are elsewhere; they have a noble college and chapel situated in the best place of Fribourg. It is not long since they were received at Solothurn, where there was a revenue of a thousand livres a-year set off for the maintenance of ten of them; with this provision, that they should never exceed that number. But where they are once settled, they find means to break through all limitations; and they are now become so rich there, that they are raising a church and college, which will cost above four hundred thousand livres, to which the French King gives ten thousand livres for the frontispiece: for this being the canton in
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which his ambassador resides, he thought it suitable to his glory to have a monument of his bounty raised by an order that will never be wanting to flatter their benefactors, as long as they find their account in it.

In the same canton there is an abbey that has an hundred thousand livres of revenue. There is also a very rich house of nuns that wear the Capuchins habit; that, as I was told, had sixty thousand livres of revenue, and but sixty nuns in it; who, having thus a thousand livres a-piece, may live in all possible plenty, in a country where a very little money goes a great way. But that which surprises one most at Solothurn, is, the great fortification of a wall that they are building about the town, the noblest and solideſt that is any where to be ſeen. The ſtone with which it is faced, is a ſort of coarſe marble, but of that bigneſs, that many ſtones are ten foot long; and two foot of breadth and thickneſs: but though this be a work of vaſt expence, and great beauty, yet it would ſignify little againſt a great army that would attack it vigorously. The wall is finiſhed on the ſide of the river on which the town ſtands, the ditch is very broad, and the counterſcarp and glacis are alſo finiſhed; and they are working at a fort on the other ſide of the river, which they intend to fortify in the ſame manner. This has coſt them near two millions of livres; and this vaſt expence has made them often repent the undertaking: and it is certain, that a fortification that is able to reſiſt the rage of their peaſants in the caſe of a rebellion, is all that is needful. This canton has two *advoyers*, as Bern; the little council conſiſts of thirty-fix: they have twelve *bailiages* belonging to them, which are very profitable to thoſe that can carry them; they have one *burſar*, and but one *banneret*. All the cantons have their *bailiages*; but if there are diſorders at

Bern in the choice of their *bailiffs*, there are far greater among the Popish cantons, where all things are sold, as a foreign minister that resides there told me; who, though he knew what my religion was, did not stick to own frankly to me, that the Catholic cantons were not near so well governed as the Protestant cantons. Justice is generally sold among them; and in their treaties with foreign princes, they have sometimes taken money both from the French and Spanish ambassadors, and have signed contradictory articles at the same time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient situation; which makes it the seat of the general diet of the cantons, though it is not one of them, but is a *bailiage* that belongs in common to eight of the ancient cantons. At last I came to this place, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the cantons, so, with relation to us, it has a precedence of a higher nature, it being the first that received the reformation.

This canton is much less than Bern, yet the public is much richer. They reckon that they can bring fifty thousand men together upon twenty-four hours warning. Their subjects live happy: for the *bailiffs* here have regulated appointments, and have only the hundredth penny of the fines; so that they are not tempted as those of Bern are, to whom the fine belongs entirely, to strain matters against their subjects. And whereas at Bern the constant intrigue of the whole town is concerning their *bailiages*; here, on the contrary, it is a service to which the citizens are bound to submit according to their constitution, but to which they do not aspire. The government is almost the same as at Bern; and the magistrate that is called the *advoyer* at Bern, is here called the *burgomaster*. The revenue of the state is here justly accounted for, so that the public purse is much richer than at Bern; the
arsenal

arsenal is much better furnished, and the fortifications are more regular. There is a great trade stirring here; and as their lake, that is twenty-four miles long, and about two or three broad, supplies them well with provisions, so their rivers carry their manufacture to the Rhine, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their chief manufactures is crape, which is in all respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe the situation of the town, but shall content myself to tell you, that it is extreme pleasant. The country about it is mountainous, and the winters are hard; for the lake freezes quite over; only in some places the ice never lies, which is believed a mark that some springs rise there, which cause that heat. So also in the lake of Geneva, though it is never quite frozen, yet great flakes of ice lie in several parts; but these are never seen in some parts of the lake, which is supposed to flow from the same cause.

But to return to Zurich. One sees here the true ancient simplicity of the Switzers, not corrupted with luxury or vanity. Their women not only do not converse familiarly with men, except those of their near kindred, but even in the streets do not make any returns to the civility of strangers; for it is only strangers that put off their hats to women, but they make no courtesies: and here, as in all Switzerland, women are not saluted, but the civility is expressed by taking them by the hand. There is one thing singular in the constitution of Zurich; that is, their little council consists of fifty persons, but there sit in it only twenty-five at a time; and so the two halves of this council, as each of them has his proper *burgomaster*, have also the government in their hands by turns; and they shift every six months, at Midsummer, and at Christmas. The whole canton is divided into nine great *bailiages*, and twenty-one *castellaneries*: in the former

mer the *bailiff* resides constantly ; but the *castellan*, who is also one of the great council, has so little to do, that he lives at Zurich, and goes only at some set times of the year to do justice.

The virtue of this canton has appeared signally in their adhering firmly to the ancient capitulations with the French, and not slackening in any article, which has been done by all the other cantons, where money has a sovereign influence ; but here it has never prevailed. They have converted the ancient revenues of the church more generally to pious uses, than has been done any where else that I know of. They have many hospitals well entertained ; in one, as I was told, there was six hundred and fifty poor kept : but as they support the real charities which belong to such endowments, so they despise that vain magnificence of buildings, which is too generally affected elsewhere ; for theirs are very plain : and one of the government there said to me very sensibly, *That they thought it enough to maintain their poor as poor, and did not judge it proper to lodge them as princes.*

The dean and chapter are likewise still continued as a corporation, and enjoy the revenues which they had before the reformation : but if they subsist plentifully, they labour hard ; for they have generally two or three sermons a-day, and at least one ; the first begins at five o'clock in the morning. At Geneva, and all Switzerland over, there are daily sermons, which were substituted upon the reformation from the mass. But the sermons are generally too long, and the preachers have departed from the first design of these sermons, which were intended to be an explication of a whole chapter, and an exhortation upon it ; and if this were so contrived, that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the people with less weariness, and more profit, so it would
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be a vast advantage to the preachers: for as it would oblige them to study the scriptures much; so having once made themselves masters of the practical parts of the scripture, such short and simple discourses would cost them less pains than those more laboured sermons do, which consume the greatest part of their time, and too often to very little purpose.

Among the archives of the dean and chapter, there is a vast collection of letters, written either to Bullinger, or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many volumes in folio; and out of these no doubt but one might discover a great many particulars relating to the history of the reformation: for as Bullinger lived long, so he was much esteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to some of our English exiles in Queen Mary's reign; in particular to Sands, afterwards Archbishop of York; to Horn, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; and to Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury. He gave them lodgings in the Close, and used them with all possible kindness: and as they presented some silver cups to the college, with an inscription, acknowledging the kind reception they had found there; which I saw; so they continued to keep a constant correspondence with Bullinger after the happy re-establishment of the reformation under Queen Elizabeth; of which I read almost a whole volume while I was there. Most of them contain only the general news; but some were more important, and relate to the disputes then on foot concerning the habits of the clergy, which gave the first beginnings to our unhappy divisions. And by the letters, of which I read the originals, it appears, that the Bishops preserved the ancient habits, rather in compliance with the Queen's inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; so far they were from liking them,

that they plainly expressed their dislike of them. Jewel, in a letter bearing date Feb. 8. 1566, wishes that *the vestments, together with all the other remnants of Popery, might be thrown both out of their churches, and out of the minds of the people*; and laments the Queen's fixedness to them, so that she would suffer no change to be made. And in January of the same year, Sands writes to the same purpose: *Contenditur de vestibus Papisticis utendis vel non utendis; dabit Deus his quoque finem*; "Disputes are now on foot concerning the Popish vestments, whether they should be used or not; but God will put an end to those things." Horn, Bishop of Winchester, went further: for, in a letter dated July 16. 1565, he writes of the act concerning the habits with great regret, and expresses some hopes that it might be repealed next session of parliament, if the Popish party did not hinder it; and he seems to stand in doubt whether he should conform himself to it or not: upon which he desires Bullinger's advice. And in many letters writ on that subject, it is asserted, that both Cranmer and Ridley intended to procure an act for abolishing the habits; and that they only defended their lawfulness, but not their fitness: and therefore they blamed private persons that refused to obey the laws. Grindal, in a letter dated August 27. 1566, writes, That all the Bishops who had been beyond sea, had, at their return, dealt with the Queen to let the matter of the habits fall; but she was so prepossessed, that though they had all endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them resolve to submit to the laws, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them. He laments the ill effects of the opposition that some had made to them, which had extremely irritated the Queen's spirit, so that she was now much more heated in those matters than formerly. He also
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thanks Bullinger for the letter that he had writ, justifying the lawful use of the habits; which, he says, had done great service. Cox, Bishop of Ely, in one of his letters, laments the aversion that they found in the parliament to all the propositions that were made for the reformation of abuses. Jewel, in a letter dated May 22. 1559, writes, That the Queen refused to be called head of the church; and adds, That that title could not be justly given to any mortal, it being due only to *Christ*; and that such titles had been so much abused by *Antichrist*, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all these passages I will make no reflections here; for I set them down only to shew what was the sense of our chief churchmen at that time concerning those matters which have since engaged us in such warm and angry disputes; and this may be no inconsiderable instruction to one that intends to write the history of that time. The last particular with which I intend to end this letter, might seem a little too learned, if I were writing to a less knowing man than yourself.

I have taken some pains in my travels to examine all the ancient manuscripts of the New Testament, concerning that doubted passage of St John's epistles, *There are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are one.* Bullinger doubted much of it, because he found it not in an ancient Latin manuscript at Zurich, which seems to be about eight hundred years old; for it is written in that hand that began to be used in Charles the Great's time. I turned the manuscript, and found the passage was not there. But this was certainly the error or omission of the copier: for, before the general epistles in that manuscript, the preface of St Jerome is to be found; in which he says, that he was the more exact in that translation, that so he might discover the fraud
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of the Arians, who had struck out that passage concerning the Trinity. This preface is printed in Lira's Bible; but how it came to be left out by Erasmus, in his edition of that father's works, is that of which I can give no account. For as, on the one hand, Erasmus's sincerity ought not to be too rashly censured; so, on the other hand, that preface being in all the manuscripts ancient or modern, of those Bibles that have the other prefaces in them, that I ever yet saw, it is not easy to imagine what made Erasmus not to publish it. And it is in the manuscript Bibles at Basil, where he printed his edition of St Jerome's works. In the old manuscript Bible of Geneva, that seems to be above seven hundred years old, both the preface and the passage are extant; but with this difference from the common editions, that the common editions set the verse concerning *the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of *the water, the blood, and the spirit*, which comes after it in this copy. And that I may in this place end all the readings I found of this passage in my travels, there is a manuscript in St Mark's library in Venice in three languages, Grek, Latin, and Arabic, that seems not above four hundred years old, in which this passage is not in the Greek; but it is in the Latin set after the other three, with a *scut* to join it to what goes before. And in a manuscript Latin Bible in the library of St Laurence at Florence, both St Jerome's preface and this passage are extant. But this passage comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *scut*, as is that of Venice; yet *scut* is not in the Geneva manuscript. There are two Greek manuscripts of the epistles at Basil, that seem to be about five hundred years old, in neither of which this passage is to be found. They have also an ancient Latin Bible, which is about eight hundred years old; in which though St Jerome's prologue

prologue is inserted, yet this passage is wanting. At Strasburg I saw four very ancient manuscripts of the New Testament in Latin. Three of these seemed to be about the time of Charles the Great; but the fourth seemed to be much ancients, and may belong to the seventh century. In it neither the prologue nor the place is extant; but it is added at the foot of the page with another hand. In two of the other, the prologue is extant, but the place is not; only in one of them it is added on the margin. In the fourth, as the prologue is extant, so is the place likewise; but it comes after the verse of the other three, and is joined to it thus, *Sicut tres sunt in celo.*

It seemed strange to me, and it is almost incredible, that in the Vatican library there are no ancient Latin Bibles; where, above all other places, they ought to be looked for: but I saw none above four hundred years old. There is indeed the famous Greek manuscript of great value, which the Chanoine Shelfstrat, who was library-keeper, asserted to be one thousand four hundred years old, and proved it by the great similitude of the characters with those that are upon St Hippolite's statue; which is so evident, that, if his statue was made about his time, the antiquity of this manuscript is not to be disputed. If the characters are not so fair, and have not all the marks of antiquity that appear in the King's manuscript at St James's, yet this has been much better preserved, and is much more entire. The passage that has led me into this digression, is not to be found in the Vatican manuscript, no more than it is in the King's manuscript. And with this I will finish my account of Zurich. The public library is very noble. The hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived; and there is a very handsome cabinet of medals; and so I will breaff off. But when I have

have gone so much farther, that I have gathered materials for another letter of this volume, you may look for a second entertainment, such as it is, from,

Your, &c.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I Told you, that in Bern the *bailiages* are given by a sort of ballot, which is so managed, that no man's vote is known. But I must now add, that since I was first there they have made a considerable regulation in the way of voting, when offices are to be given; which approaches much nearer the Venetian method, and which exposes the competitors more to chance, and by consequence may put an end to the intrigues that are so much in use for obtaining those employments. There is a number of balls put into a box, equal to the number of those that have a right to vote, and that are present; of these the third part is gilt, and two parts are only silvered: so every one takes out a ball; but none can vote, except those who have the gilt balls; so that hereafter a man may have more than two thirds sure, and yet be cast in a competition.

There is one thing for which the Switzers, in particular those of Bern, cannot be enough commended. They have, ever since the persecution begun first in France, opened a sanctuary to such as have retired thither, in so generous and so Christian a manner, that it deserves all the honourable remembrances that can be made of it. Such ministers and others that were at first condemned in France, for the affair of the Cevennes, have not only found a kind reception here, but all the support that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in reason expected: for they have assigned the French ministers a pension of five crowns a-month, if they were unmarried, and have increased

increased it to such as had wife and children ; so that some had above ten crowns a-month pension. They dispersed them all over the Pais de Vaud ; but the greatest number staid at Lausanne and Vevey. In order to the supporting of this charge, the charities of Zurich and the other neighbouring Protestant states were brought hither. Not only the Protestant cantons, but the Grisons, and some small states that are under the protection of the cantons, such as Neuchatel, St Gall, and some others, have sent in their charities to Bern ; who dispense them with great discretion, and bear what farther charge this relief brings upon them. And in this last total and deplorable dispersion of those churches, the whole country has been animated with such a spirit of charity and compassion, that every man's house and purse has been opened to the refugees ; who have passed thither in such numbers, that sometimes there have been above two thousand in Lausanne alone ; and of these there were at one time near two hundred ministers : and they all met with a kindness and freeheartedness, that looked more like somewhat of the primitive age revived, than the degeneracy of the age in which we live.

I shall conclude this postscript, which is already swelled to the bigness of a letter, with a sad instance of the anger and heat that rises among divines concerning matters of very small consequence.

The middle way that Amirald, Daillé, and some others in France, took in the matters that were disputed in Holland concerning the divine decrees, and the extent of the death of Christ, as it came to be generally followed in France, so it had some assertors both in Geneva and Switzerland ; who denied the imputation of Adam's sin, and asserted the universality of Christ's death, together with a sufficient

sufficient grace given to all men; asserting with this, a particular and free decree of election, with an efficacious grace for those included in it. These came to be called *Universalists*, and began to grow very considerable in Geneva, two of the professors of divinity there being known to favour those opinions. Upon this, those who adhered strictly to the opposite doctrine were inflamed; and the contention grew to that height, that almost the whole town came to be concerned, and all were divided into parties. If upon this the magistrates had enjoined silence to both parties, they had certainly acted wisely; for these are speculations so little certain, and so little essential to religion, that a diversity of opinions ought not to be made the occasion of heat or faction. But though the party of the Universalists was considerable in Geneva, it was very small in Switzerland; therefore some divines there, that adhered to the old received doctrine, drew up some articles; in which all these doctrines were not only condemned, together with some speculations that were asserted concerning Adam's immortality, and other qualities belonging to the state of innocency; but because Capel and some other critics had not only asserted the novelty of the points, but had taken the liberty to correct the reading of the Hebrew, supposing that some errors had been committed by the copiers of the Bible, both in the vowels and consonants; in opposition to this, they condemned all corrections of the Hebrew Bible, and asserted the antiquity of the points, or at least of the power and reading according to them: by which, though they did not engage all to be of Buxtorf's opinion as to the antiquity of the points, yet they shut the door against all corrections of the present punctuation. If this consent of doctrine (for so they termed it) had been made only the standard, against which no man might

might have taught without incurring censurés, the severity had been more tolerable. But they obliged all such as should be admitted either to the ministry, or to a professor's chair, to sign *Sic sentio*; "So I think." And this being so settled at Bern and Zurich, it was also carried by their authority at Geneva; but for those in office, the moderator and clerk signed it in all their names. And thus they were not contented to make only a regulation in those matters; but they would needs, according to a maxim that hath been so often fatal to the church, enter into people's consciences, and either shut out young men from employments, or impose a test upon them, which perhaps some have signed not without strugglings in their conscience. Yet some that set on this test, or consent, are men of such extraordinary worth, that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a sincere zeal for that which they believe to be the truth; only I wish they had larger and freer souls.

The only considerable tax under which the Switzers lie, is, that when estates are sold, the fifth part of the price belongs to the public; and all the abatement that the bailiff can make, is to bring it to a sixth part. This they call the *lod*, which is derived from *alodium*. Only there are some lands that are *frank-alod*, which lie not under this tax. But this falling only on the sellers of estates, it was thought a just punishment and wise restraint on ill husbands of their estates.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have given you of the derivation of *advoyer*, when I found that in some small towns in the canton of Bern the chief magistrate is still so called; as in Payerne. So that I make no doubt, but as the ancient magistrates in the time of the Romans, that were to give an account of the town, were called *advocatus*; and afterwards the judge in civil mat-

ters, that was named by the bishops, was called at first *advocat*, and afterwards *vidam* or *vicedominus*; so this was the title that was still continued in Bern while they were under the Austrian and German yoke, and was preserved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps touched too slightly on the last difference that was in Switzerland, which related to the canton of Glaris. In the canton of Appenzel, as the two religions are tolerated, so they are separated in different quarters. Those of one religion have the one half of the canton, and those of the other religion have the other half; so they live apart. But in Glaris they are mixed; and now the number of the Papists is become very low. One assured me, there were not above two hundred families of that religion; and those are also so poor, that their necessities dispose some of them every day to change their religion. The other Popish cantons seeing the danger of losing their interest entirely in that canton, and being set on by the intrigues of a court that has understood well the policy of imbroiling all other states, made great use of some complaints that were brought by the Papists of Glaris, as if the prevailing of the other religion exposed them to much injustice and oppression; and upon that they proposed, that the canton should be equally divided into two halves, as Appenzel was. This was extremely unjust; since the Papists were not the tenth, or perhaps the twentieth part of the canton. It is true, it was so situated in the midst of the Popish cantons, that the Protestant cantons could not easily come to their assistance. But those of Glaris resolved to die, rather than suffer this injustice; and the Protestant cantons resolved to engage in a war with the Popish cantons, if they imposed this matter on their brethren at Glaris. At last this temper was found, that
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in all suits of law between those of different religions, two thirds of the judges should be always of the religion of the defendant. But while this contest was on foot, those who (as is believed) fomented it; if they did not set it on, knew how to make their advantage of the conjuncture; for then was the fortification of Hunningen at the ports of Basil much advanced, of the importance of which they are now very apprehensive when it is too late. There are six noble families in Bern that have still this privilege, that when any of them are chosen to be of the council, they take place before all the ancient counsellors; whereas all the rest take place according to the order in which they were chosen to be of the council.

L E T T E R II.

After a short stay at Zurich, we went down the lake, where we passed under the bridge at Ripperfwood; which is a very noble work for such a country. The lake is there about half a mile broad. The bridge is about twelve foot broad; but hath no rails on either side; so that if the wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a man is in great danger of being blown into the lake. And this same defect I found in almost all the bridges in Lombardy; which seemed very strange; for since that defence is made at so small an expence, it was amazing to see bridges so naked; and that was more surprising in some places, where the bridges are both high and long: yet I never heard of any mischief that followed on this; but those are sober countries, where drinking is not much in use. After two days journey, we came to Coire, which is the chief town of the Grisons, and where we found a

general diet of the three leagues sitting; so that having staid ten days there, I came to be informed of a great many particulars concerning those leagues which are not commonly known. The town is but little, and may contain between four and five thousand souls. It lies in a bottom, upon a small brook, that a little below the town falls into the Rhine. It is invironed with mountains on all hands; so that they have a very short summer; for the snow is not melted till May or June, and it began to snow in September when I was there. On a rising ground at the east-end of the town is the cathedral, the bishop's palace, and the close where the dean and six prebendaries live. All within the close are Papists, but all the town are Protestants, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a mile high on the hill, one goes up by a steep ascent to St Lucius's chapel. My curiosity carried me thither; though I gave no faith to the legend of King Lucius, and of his coming so far from home to be the apostle of the Grisons. His chapel is a little vault about ten foot square; where there is an altar, and where mass is said upon some great festivals. It is situated under a natural arch that is in the rock, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the cell of a hermit. From it some drops of a small fountain fall down near the chapel. The Bishop assured me, it had a miraculous virtue for weak eyes, and that it was oily; but neither taste nor feeling could discover to me any oiliness. I believe it may be very good for the eyes, as all rock-water is. But when I offered to shew the good old Bishop, that the legend of Lucius was a fable in all the parts of it, but most remarkably in that which related to the Grisons; and that we had no Kings in Britain at that time, but were a province to the Romans; that no ancient authors speak of it, Bede being the
first

first that mentions it; and that the pretended letter to Pope Eleutherius, together with his answer, has evident characters of forgery in it: all this signified nothing to the Bishop; who assured me, that they had a tradition of that in their church, and it was inserted in their breviary; which he firmly believed. He also told me the other legend of King Locius's sister St Emerita, who was burnt there, and of whose veil there was yet a considerable remnant reserved among their reliques. I confess, I never saw a relique so ill-disguised; for it is a piece of worn linen cloth lately washed, and the burning did not seem to be a month old; and yet when they took it out of the case to shew it me, there were some there that with great devotion rubbed their beads upon it. The Bishop had some contests with his Dean; and, being a prince of the empire, he had proscribed him. The Dean had also behaved himself so insolently, that, by an order of the diet, to which even the Bishop, as was believed, consented, he was put in prison as he came out of the cathedral. By the common consent both of the Popish and Protestant communities, a law was long ago made against ecclesiastical immunities. This attempt on the Dean was made four years ago. As soon as he was let out, he went to Rome, and made great complaints of the Bishop; and it was thought the Popish party intended to move in the diet while we were there for the repealing of that law; but they did it not. The foundation of the quarrel between the Bishop and dean, was the exemptions to which the Dean and chapter pretended, and upon which the Bishop made some invasion. Upon which I took occasion to shew him the novelty of those exemptions; and that in the primitive church it was believed, that the bishop had the authority over his presbyters by a divine right; and, if it was by a divine right,

then the Pope could not exempt them from his obedience. But the Bishop would not carry the matter so high, and contented himself with two maxims. The one was, That the Bishop was Christ's vicar in his diocese; and the other was, That what the Pope was in the Catholic church, the Bishop was the same in his diocese.

He was a good-natured man, and did not make use of the great authority that he has over the Papists there, to set them on to live uneasily with their neighbours of another religion. That Bishop was anciently a great prince; and the greatest part of the league that carries still the name of *the House of God* belonged to him; though I was assured that Pregallia, one of those communities, was a free state above six hundred years ago, and that they have records yet extant that prove this. The other communities of this league bought their liberties from several Bishops some considerable time before the reformation, of which the deeds are yet extant: so that it is an impudent thing to say, as some have done, that they shook off his yoke at that time.

The Bishop hath yet reserved a revenue of about one thousand pounds Sterling a-year, and every one of the prebendaries hath near two hundred pounds a-year. It is not easy to imagine out of what the riches of this country are raised; for one sees nothing but a tract of vast mountains, that seem barren rocks, and some little vallies among them not a mile broad, and the best part of these is washed away by the Rhine, and some brooks that fall into it. But their wealth consists chiefly in their hills, which afford much pasture; and in the hot months, in which all the pasture of Italy is generally parched, the cattle are driven into these hills, which brings them in a revenue of above two hundred thousand crowns a-year. The public is indeed

indeed very poor; but particular persons are so rich, that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have estates to the value of one hundred thousand crowns. Mr Shovestein, that is accounted the richest man in the country, is believed to be worth a million, I mean of livres. The government here is purely a commonwealth; for in the choice of their magistrates every man that is above sixteen years old hath his voice, which is also the constitution of some of the small cantons. The three leagues are, the league of the Grisons, that of the House of God, and that of the Ten Jurisdictions.

They believe, that, upon the incursions of the Goths and Vandals, as some fled to the Venetian islands, out of which arose that famous commonwealth; so others came and sheltered themselves in those vallies. They told me of an ancient inscription lately found on a stone, where on the one side is graven, *Omitto Rbetos, indomitos*; and, *Ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by Julius Cæsar. The stone on which the inscription is, is upon one of their mountains; but I did not pass that way, so I can make no judgment concerning it. After the first forming of this people, they were cast into little states, according to the different vallies which they inhabited, and in which justice was administered; and so they fell under the power of some little princes, that became severe masters. But when they saw the example that the Switzers had set them, in shaking off the Austrian yoke, above two hundred years ago, they likewise combined to shake off theirs; only some few of those small princes used their authority better, and concurred with the people in shaking off the yoke, and so they are still parts of the body; only Haldenstein is an absolute sovereignty. It is about two miles from Coire to the west,

west, on the other side of the Rhine. The whole territory is about half a mile long, at the foot of the Alps, where there is scarce any breadth. The authority of these Barons was formerly more absolute than it is now; for the subjects were their slaves: but to keep together the little village, they have granted them a power of naming a list for their magistrates, the person being to be named by the Baron, who hath also the right of pardoning, a right of coining, and every thing else that belongs to a sovereign. I saw this little prince in Coire, in an equipage not suitable to his quality, for he was in all points like a very ordinary gentleman. There are three other baronies that are members of the diet, and subject to it; the chief belonged to the Archdukes of Inspruck, the other two belong to Mr Schovenstein and Mr de Mont; they are the heads of those communities of which their baronies are composed; they name the magistrates out of the lists that are presented to them by their subjects, and they have the right of pardoning, and of confiscations. That belonging to the house of Austria is the biggest; it hath five voices in the diet, and it can raise twelve hundred men. One Travers bought it of the Emperor in the year 1679; he entered upon the rights of the ancient Barons, which were specified in an agreement that passed between him and his peasants, and was confirmed by the Emperor. Travers made many incroachments upon the privileges of his subjects; who, upon that, made their complaints to the league; but Travers would have the matter judged at Inspruck, and the Emperor supported him in this pretension, and sent an agent to the diet. I was present when he had his audience, in which there was nothing but general compliments. But the diet stood firm to their constitution, and asserted that the Emperor had no authority to judge

in that matter, which belonged only to them. So Travers was forced to let his pretensions fall.

All the other parts of this state are purely democratical. There are three different bodies or leagues, and every one of these are an entire government; and the assembly or diet of the three leagues, is only a confederacy, like the United Provinces, or the cantons. There are sixty-seven voices in the general diet, which are thus divided. The league of the Grisons hath twenty-eight voices, that of the House of God hath twenty-four, and that of the Jurisdictions hath fifteen. The Jurisdictions belonged anciently to the house of Austria; but they having shaken off that authority, were incorporated into the diet: but in the last wars of Germany the Austrians thought to have brought them again under their yoke; yet they defended their liberty with so much vigour, that the Austrians, it seems, thought the conquest not worth the while, and that it would not quit the cost. They were affrighted by two extraordinary actions. In one village, which was quite abandoned by all the men belonging to it, who left the women in it, some hundreds, as I was told, being there quartered, were apprehensive of no danger from their hostesses: but the women intended to let their husbands see, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold action; though it must be confessed, it was a little too rough and barbarous for the sex. They entered into a combination to cut all the throats of the soldiers at one time. The woman that proposed this had four lodged with her, and she with her own hands dispatched them all; and so did all the rest, not one soldier escaping to carry away the news of so unheard-of a rage. In another place, a body of the Austrians came into a valley that was quite abandoned; for the men that had no arms but their clubs

clubs and staves had got up to the mountains : but they took their measures so well, and possessed themselves so of the passes, that they came down upon the soldiers with so much fury, that they defeated them quite, so that very few escaped ; and it is certain, that the subduing of them would have proved a very hard work. It is true, they are not in a condition to hold out long, the public is so poor ; so that, though particular persons are extreme rich, yet they have no public revenue, but every man is concerned to preserve his liberty ; which is more entire here than it is even in Switzerland : but this swells often too much, and throws them into great convulsions. The league of the Grisons is the first and most ancient ; and it is composed of eight and twenty communities ; of which there are eighteen Papists, and the rest are Protestants. The communities of the two religions live neighbourly together, yet they do not suffer those of another religion to live among them ; so that every community is entirely of the same religion : and if any one changes, he must go into another community. Each community is an entire state within itself ; and all persons must meet once a year, to chuse the judge and his assistants, whom they change or continue from year to year as they see cause. There is no difference made between gentleman and peasant, and the tenant hath a vote as well as his landlord ; nor dare his landlord use him ill when he votes contrary to his intentions, for the peasants would look upon that as a common quarrel. An appeal lies from the judge of the community to the assembly of the league, where all matters end ; for there lies no appeal to the general diet of the three leagues, except in matters that concern the conquered countries, which belong in common to all the three. There is one chosen by the deputies for the assembly

bly of the league, who is called, *The head of the league*, that can call them together as he sees cause, and can likewise bring a cause that hath been once judged to a second hearing. Ilants is the chief town of this league, where their diet meets. The second league is that of the House of God, in which there are four and twenty communities. The burgomaster of Coire is always the head of this league. This league is almost wholly Protestant; and the two vallies of the Upper and Lower Engedin are pointed out by the Papists as little less than cannibals towards such Catholics as come among them. But Frier Sfondrato, nephew to Pope Gregory XIV. whose mother the Marquis of Bergominero, that was in England, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true, to his great regret. About eighteen years ago he was believed to have wrought miracles; and he became so much in love with the crown of martyrdom, that he went through the Engedin, not doubting but that he should find there that which he desired. His brother had come some time before into the country to drink the mineral waters, and was well known to the gentry: so some of these hearing of the frier's coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertained by them in their houses, and conveyed through the country, though he took all possible ways to provoke them; for he was often railing at their religion; but to all that they made no answer, only they continued their civilities still: which did so enrage the warm frier, that he went to Bormio, and there, as was believed, died of grief.

An accident fell out five years ago, that the people of the country esteemed a sort of a miracle. The Papists, in their processions, go sometimes out of one community into another; and when they pass through Protestant communities, they lower
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the cross, and give over singing till they are again upon Popish ground; but then they went on bearing up the cross, and singing as they went: upon which the Protestants stopped them, and would not suffer them to go on in that manner. They finding that they were not equal in number to the Protestants, sent to a Catholic community, and desired them to come to their assistance. Two thousand came, and by all appearance the dispute would have had a bloody issue; for the Protestants were resolved to maintain the rights of their community, and the others were no less resolved to force their way: but an extraordinary thick mist arose, and through it the Papists fancied they saw a vast body of men, which was no other than a wood; but terrified with the appearance of such a number, they retired; and this saved a little battle, that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood, but might have very much disordered the whole constitution and union of their leagues. The Papists of quality endeavour much to keep their people in order; but they acknowledged to myself, that the Protestants were much peaceabler than the Catholics. The Jurisdictions have fifteen votes in the general diet; yet they are generally called *the Ten Jurisdictions*, and the greater part of them are likewise of the Protestant religion: for upon the general computation of the three leagues, the Protestants are about two thirds. In their diets there are three tables, one in the middle, and two on either side. At every table sits the head of the league, and a secretary near him; and from the table there go down benches on both hands, for the deputies from the communities of that league. They hold their diets by turns in the chief towns of the several leagues, and it happened to be the turn of the House of God when I was there; so they met at Coire.

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The three leagues have a conquered country in Italy, divided into three districts; the Valteline, Chavennes, and Bormio. When John Galeasse possessed himself of the duchy of Milan, and drove out Barnabas; Mastinas, one of Barnabas's sons, to whom his father had given those three branches of the duchy of Milan, retired to Coire; and being hospitably received and entertained by the Bishop, when he died, he gave his right to those territories to the cathedral of Coire: but here was a title without a force able to make it good. But when the wars of Italy were on foot, the three leagues being much courted by both the crowns, since they were masters of the passes, by which either the Switzers or Germans could come into Italy, they resolved to lay hold on that opportunity; yet they had not zeal enough for their Bishop, to engage deep upon his account: so they agreed with him to pay him such a revenue, and he transferred his title to them; and they were so considerable to the Spaniards, that, without much ado, they yielded those parcels of the duchy of Milan to them, and by this means they are possessed of them. Those accessions to this state are much better than the principal: for as certainly the Valteline, which is above forty miles long, and two broad, is one of the richest vallies in the world, in which there are three harvests some years; so the Chavennes and Bormio are much preferable to the best vallies of the Grisons: yet the engagement that people have to their native homes appears signally here, since the Grisons have not forsaken their country, that they might situate themselves so advantageously. But they love their rugged vallies, and think the safety they enjoy in them beyond the pleasures of their acquired dominions; so they govern them by *bailiffs* and *podeslas*, and other officers whom they send among them: and

all the advantages that they draw from them, is, that the magistrates whom they send to govern them, do enrich themselves, as the *bailiffs* in Switzerland do. All those offices go round the several communities, who have the right of nomination in their turn; but if there is none of the community proper for the employment, any one of another community may buy of them the nomination for that turn, and the community distribute among them the money that he gives them. The public draws nothing out of those parts, except the fines, which in some years amount to no considerable sum; and ten or twelve thousand crowns is thought a great deal to be raised out of them in a year: so that their subjects live happy, and free of all taxes; which made their last revolt appear the more extraordinary. And it was indeed the effect of a very surprising bigotry, when a people under the gentlest yoke in the world, who had no other grievance, but that now and then their magistrates were of another religion, and that the Protestant religion was tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their masters, cut the throats of their neighbours, and cast themselves into the hands of the Spaniards, who are the terriblest masters in the world.

But to give a more particular relation of that matter, and to tell the circumstances which seem a little to lessen that rebellion and massacre, I must give an account of a part of this constitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greatest men in it to tremble. The peasants come sometimes in great bodies, and demand a chamber of justice from the general diet; and they are bound to grant it always when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty years. Commonly this tumult of the peasants is set on by some of the malecontented gentry, and generally there are a
great

great many sacrifices made. This court is composed of ten judges out of every league, and twenty advocates, who manage such accusations as are presented to them. This court is paramount to law, and acts like a court of inquisition; they give the question; and do every thing that they think necessary to discover the truth of such accusations as are presented to them: and the decisions of this court can never be brought under a second review; though there is an exception to this; for about a hundred years ago, one court of justice reversed all that another had done: but that is a single instance. The peasants are in as great a jealousy of the Spaniards, as the Switzers are of the French; and the good men among them are extremely sensible of a great dissolution of morals that the Spanish service brings among them. For there is a Grison regiment kept still in pay by the Spaniards; there are in it twelve companies of fifty a-piece, and the Captains have a thousand crowns pay, though they are not obliged to attend upon the service. This is, upon the matter, a pension paid, under a more decent name, to the most considerable men of the country; and this is shared among them without any distinction of Protestant and Papist, and is believed to sway their councils much. The peasants are apt to take fire; and to believe they are betrayed by those pensioners of Spain; and when rumours are blown about among them, they come in great numbers to demand a chamber of justice. The common question that they give, which is also used all Switzerland over, and in Geneva, is, That they tie the hands of the suspected person behind his back, and pull them up to his head, and so draw them about, by which the arms, and chiefly the shoulder-blades, are disjointed. And when a person put to the question confesses his crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he

is obliged to renew his confession upon oath at the place of execution; and if he goes off from it then, and saith, *That his confession was extorted by the violence of the torture*, he is put again to the question: for this passeth for a maxim, *That no man must die, unless he confesseth himself guilty*. Generally, when the fury of demanding this chamber is spread among the people, the gentry run away, and leave the whole matter in the power of the peasants; for they know not where it will end: and so the peasants being named to be judges, the justice goes quick, till some sacrifices appease the rage. Two years ago, upon the sale of a common to the Bishop of Como, to which he had an ancient pretension, the peasants having no more the liberty of the common, were enraged at their magistrates; and a report was spread abroad, of which the first author could never be discovered, *That the Spaniards had sent a hundred thousand crowns among them to corrupt all their magistrates*. Upon this they were so set on fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many sacrifices made to this fury: but the gentry happened to be then so much united, that there was none of them engaged among the peasants, or that managed their rage. A chamber of justice was granted: but the matter was so ordered, that it did not appear that any one was guilty: yet some that had dealt in that transaction were fined, not so much for any fault of theirs, as to raise a fund to pay the expences of the chamber. And because they could not find colour enough to raise so much out of the fines, there was a fine of five hundred livres laid on every one of the Spanish companies. I hope this digression will not appear tedious to you; and the rather, because you will soon see that it was a little necessary to open the matter of the rebellion and massacre in the Valteline.

In the year 1618, there was a report set about, *That the Spaniards had a treaty on foot to tear away the Valteline from the league.* This was supported by the fort Fuentes, that the governor of Milan was building upon the lake of Como. Near the Valteline there was one Ganatz, a minister, but a bloody and perfidious man, that set on and managed the rage of the peasants; and there was great reason to suspect some underhand dealing, though he threw it which way he pleased. A chamber of justice was appointed to sit at Tossane, which is a considerable town twelve miles from Coire, on the way to Italy, near Alta Rhetia, which is a high and small hill, to which there is no access but on one side; where there are yet the ruins of a castle and a church, and which they believe was the palace of Rhetus, the first prince of the country. There was severe justice done in this chamber. A priest was put to the question, and so ill used, that he died in it; which is a crying thing among them. The chief suspicion lay upon one Pianta; who, being of one of the best families of the Grisons, was then one of the Captains in the Spanish regiment. He withdrew himself from the storm; but the peasants, led on by Ganatz, pursued him so, that at last they found him, and hewed him in pieces, Ganatz himself striking the first stroke with an ax, which was taken up and preserved by his friends; and four and twenty years after, fifty or sixty of his friends fell upon Ganatz in Coire, and killed him with the same ax; which they brought along with them, that they might execute their design by the same tool with which their friend was murdered. Ganatz had, during the wars, abandoned both his religion and profession, being indeed a disgrace to both, and had served first in the Venetian, and then in the Spanish troops. After the peace was made, he be-

came so considerable, being supported by the Spanish faction, that he was chosen governor of Chavennes, and was come over to Coire to a diet, he being then in so important a charge. But he was so much hated, that though the murdering of a magistrate in office, and at a public assembly, in so terrible a manner, ought to have been severely punished; yet no inquiry was made into the crime, nor was any man so much as questioned for it. In that chamber many that were put to the question confessed enough to hang them. Some endured the question, and escaped with the loss of the use of their arms. Those of the Valteline have made use of this severity, as that which gave the rise to the massacre. And it is very probable this might have drawn in some that would have been otherwise more moderate, and that it did likewise precipitate that barbarous action. Yet it was afterwards found out, that the plot had been formed long before; so that the industry and rage of the priests, managed by Spanish emissaries, working upon the bigotry of the people, was the real cause; and this was only made use of as a pretext to give some more plausible colours to the massacre, which was executed some months after this chamber was dissolved. It began while the Protestants were at church. There were some hundreds destroyed; the rest got all up to the mountains, and so escaped into the country of the Grisons; and those of Chavennes got likewise up to the hills, for they are situated just at the bottom of them.

I shall not prosecute the rest of that war. The French saw of what advantage it was to them, not to let this pass from Italy into Germany fall into the hands of the Spaniards; so Bassompierre was sent to Madrid, and obtained a promise, that all things should be put into the same state in which they were before the year 1618. But when that order

order was sent to the governor of Milan, it was plain he had secret orders to the contrary, for he refused to execute it. So a war followed; in which the Grisons found it was not easy for them to support the charge of it, without employing the assistance of the French. But the Spaniards pretended to have no other interest in the affairs of the Valteline, than the preservation of the Catholic religion; and, to shew their sincerity, they put the country into the Pope's hands, knowing that he could not preserve it but by their assistance, nor restore it without securing it from all change of religion. The French willingly undertook the cause of the Grisons; and because the Duke of Rohan was like to be the most favourable General, as being of their religion, he was sent to command some forces that marched thither. But he saw, that if the French once made themselves masters of the passes of the country, it would turn to their ruin; and finding the Grisons reposed an entire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an instrument in that which he saw must be fatal to them.

The Spaniards seeing the French engage in the quarrel, and fearing lest they should possess themselves of the passes, offered to restore all the territory in Italy; for Chavennes and Bormio had likewise revolted; only the Protestants got away so quick upon the disorders in the Valteline, that they prevented the rage of the priests. The Spaniards asked these conditions: That an amnesty should be granted for what was past; that there should be no exercise of the Protestant religion tolerated in the country; and that even the *bailiffs*, and other magistrates of that religion, who were to be sent into the Valteline, should have no exercise of their religion; and as for other persons, that none of that religion might stay above six weeks at a time
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in the country. The Duke of Rohan seeing that conditions of so much advantage to the leagues were offered them, did underhand advise those of that religion to accept of them, at the same time that he seemed openly to oppose the treaty set on foot on those terms; and that he might get out of his employment with less dishonour, he advised their clapping him up in prison, till they had finished their treaty with the Spaniards. So that they very gratefully to this day own, that they owe the preservation of their country to the wise advices of that great man. Many that were of that religion returned to their houses and estates; but the greatest part fearing such another massacre, have since changed their religion, others have sold their estates, and left the country. Some stay still, and go two or three hours journey to some of the Protestant communities, where they have the exercise of their religion. And though they may not stay in the Valeline above six weeks at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the country once within that time; nor is that matter at present so severely examined; so that there is a calm among them as to those matters. But when it comes to the turn of the Protestant communities to send one of their religion to those employments, he is often much embarrassed by the Bishop of Como, to whose diocese those territories belong: for if the Bishop fancies, that they do any thing contrary to the ecclesiastical immunities, he excommunicates them. And though this may appear a ridiculous thing, since they are already in a worse state by being heretics; yet it produces a very sensible effect; for the people, that are extremely superstitious, will not, after that, come near such magistrates. So that about three years ago, a *bailliff* found himself obliged to desire to be recalled, though his time was not out, since being excommunicated he could

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no longer maintain the government in his own person.

Among the Grisons the Roman law prevails, modified a little by their customs. One that was a little particular, was executed when I was there. A man that hath an estate by his wife, enjoys it after her death as long as he continues a widower; but when he marries again, he is bound to divide it among the children that he had by her. The justice is short and simple; but it is often thought, that bribes go here, though but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The married women here do scarce appear abroad, except at church; but the young women have more liberty before they are married. There is such a plenty of all things by reason of the gentleness of the government, and the industry of the people, that in all the ten days I staid in Coire I was but once asked an alms in the streets. There are two churches in Coire. In the one there is an organ that joins with their voices in the singing of the psalms; and there was for the honour of the diet, while we were there, an anthem sung by a set of musicians very regularly. In all the churches, both of Switzerland and the Grisons, except in this only, the minister preaches covered; but here he is bare-headed. And I observed a particular devotion used here in saying of the Lord's prayer; that the ministers, who wear caps, put them off when this was said. The women here, as in Bern, turn all to the east in time of prayer, and also in their private devotions before and after the public prayers. Many also bow at the name of Jesus. They christen discovering the whole head, and pouring the water on the hind-head, using a trine asperision; which is also the practice of the Switzers. It was matter of much edification, to see the great numbers, both here and all Switzer-
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land over, that come every day to prayers morning and evening. They give here in the middle of the prayer a good interval of silence for the private devotions of the assembly. The schools here go not above Latin, Greek, and logic; and for the rest they send their children to Zurich or Basil. The clergy here are very meanly provided. For the most part they have nothing but the benevolence of their people. They complained much to me of a great coldness in their people in the matters of religion, and of a great corruption in their morals. The commons are extreme insolent; and many crimes go unpunished, if the persons that commit them have either great credit or much money. The poor ministers here are under a terrible slavery; for the Grisons pretend, that in all times they had not only the patronage of their churches, but a power to dismiss their churchmen as they saw cause. How it is among the Papists, I cannot tell; but the Dean of the synod of the House of God told me, they had an ill custom of ordaining their ministers without a title, upon an examination of their qualifications and abilities, which took them up generally six or seven hours; and when the trial was thus dispatched, if the person was found qualified, they ordained him. And it was too ordinary for those that were thus ordained, to endeavour to undermine the ministers already in employment, if their people grew disgusted at them, or as they became disabled by age: and often the interest and kindred of the intruder carried the matter against the incumbent without any colour or pretence; and in that case the synod was bound to receive the intruder. In one half of the country, they preach in High Dutch; and in the other half, in a corrupt Italian, which they call *Romaniſh*, that is, a mixture of French and Italian. In every league they have a synod; and as the people

people chuse their ministers, so, in imitation of the Switzers, every synod chuses their *antistes*, or superintendant. He is called the *dean* among the Grisons, -and hath a sort of Episcopal power; but he is accountable to the synod. The office is for life; but the synod, upon great cause given, may make a change. The people of this country are much more lively than the Switzers; and they begin to have some tincture of the Italian temper. They are extreme civil to strangers: but it seems in all commonwealths innkeepers think they have a right to exact upon strangers; which one finds here, as well as in Holland, or in Switzerland.

I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the Grisons with a very extraordinary story, which I had both from the ministers of Coire, and several other gentlemen, that saw, in April 1685, about five hundred persons of different sexes and ages that passed through the town; who gave this account of themselves. They were the inhabitants of a valley in Tirol, belonging for the greatest part to the archbishoprick of Saltzburg; but some of them were in the dioceses of Trent and Bressie. They seemed to be a remnant of the old Waldenses. They worshipped neither images nor saints, and they believed the sacrament was only a commemoration of the death of Christ. And in many other points they had their peculiar opinions, different from those of the church of Rome. They knew nothing either of Lutherans or Calvinists; and the Grisons, though their neighbours, had never heard of this nearness of theirs to the Protestant religion. They had mass said among them; but some years since some of the valley going over Germany to earn somewhat by their labour, happened to go into the Palatinate, where they were better instructed in matters of religion; and these brought back with them into the valley the

the Heidelberg catechism, together with some other German books, which ran over the valley; and they being before that in a good disposition, those books had such an effect upon them, that they gave over going to mass any more, and began to worship God in a way more suitable to the rules set down in scripture. Some of their priests concurred with them in this happy change; but others, that adhered still to the mass, went and gave the Archbishop of Saltzburg an account of it; upon which he sent some into the country to examine the truth of the matter, to exhort them to return to mass, and to threaten them with all severity, if they continued obstinate. So they, seeing a terrible storm ready to break upon them, resolved to abandon their houses, and all they had, rather than sin against their consciences; and the whole inhabitants of the valley, old and young, men and women, to the number of two thousand, divided themselves into several bodies. Some intended to go to Brandenburg, others to the Palatinate; and about five hundred took the way of Coire, intending to disperse themselves in Switzerland. The ministers told me, they were much edified with their simplicity and modesty; for a collection being made for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way.

From Coire we went to Tossane, and from thence through the way that is justly called *Via mala*. It is through a bottom between two rocks, through which the Rhine runs, but under ground, for a great part of the way. The way is cut out in the middle of the rock in some places; and in several places the steepness of the rock being such, that a way could not be cut out, there are beams driven into it, over which boards and earth are laid. This way holds an hour. After that there is for two hours good way, and we pass through two considerable villages. There is good
lodging

lodging in both. From thence there is for two hours journey terrible way, almost as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an hour's journey good way to *Spugen*, which is a large village of above two hundred houses, that are well built; and the inhabitants seem all to live at their ease, though they have no sort of soil but a little meadow ground about them. This is the last Protestant church that was in our way. It was well endowed; for the provision for the minister was near two hundred crowns. Those of this village are the carriers between Italy and Germany; so they drive a great trade; for there is here a perpetual carriage going and coming; and we were told, that there pass generally a hundred horses through this town, one day with another; and there are above five hundred carriage-horses that belong to the town. From this place we went mounting for three hours, till we got to the top of the hills, where there is only one great inn. After that, the way was tolerably good for two hours; and for two hours there is a constant descent, which for the most part is as steep as if we were all the while going down stairs. At the foot of this is a little village, called *Campdolent*; and here we found we were in Italy, both by the vast difference of the climate, (for whereas we were freezing on the other side, the heat of the sun was uneasy here), and also by the number of the beggars: though it may seem the reverse of what one ought to expect; since the richest country of Europe is full of beggars; and the *Grisons*, that are one of the poorest states, have no beggars at all. One thing is also strange, that among the *Grisons* the rich wine of the *Valtelline*, after it is carried three days journey, is sold cheaper than the wine of other countries, where it grows at the door: but there are no taxes nor impositions here. From *Campdolent* there are three hours journey to

Chavennes, all in a slow descent; and in some places the way is extreme rugged and stony. Chavennes is very pleasantly situated at the very foot of the mountains. There runs through the town a pleasant little river. It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich vineyards about it; and the rebound of the sun-beams from the mountains doth so increase the heats, that the soil is as rich here as in any place of Italy. Here one begins to see a noble architecture in a great many houses; in short, all the marks of a rich soil and a free government appear here. The town stood a little more to the north about five hundred years ago; but a slice of the Alps came down upon it, and buried it quite. And at the upper end of the town there are some rocks that look like ruins; about which there hath been a very extraordinary expence, to divide them one from another, and to make them fit places for forts and castles. The marks of the tools appeared all over the rock in one place. I measured the breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty foot; the length is four hundred and fifty foot; and, as we could guess, the rock was two hundred foot high, cut down on both sides in a line, as even, as a wall. Towards the top of one, the name *Salvino* is cut in great letters, a little Gothic. On the tops of those rocks, which are inaccessible, except on the one side, and to that the ascent is extreme uneasy, they had garisons during the wars of the Valteline. There were fifteen hundred, in garrison in that which is in the middle. There fall down frequently slices from the hills, that do extremely fatten the ground which they cover; so that it becomes fruitful beyond expression. And I saw a lime-tree that was planted eight and thirty years ago, in a piece of ground which had been so covered, that was two fathom and an half of compass. On both sides of the river,

ver; the town and the gardens belonging to it cover the whole bottom that lies between the hills; and at the roots of the mountains they dig great cellars and grottoes, and strike a hole about a foot square ten or twelve feet into the hill, which all the summer long blows a fresh air into the cellar; so that the wine of those cellars drinks almost as cold as if it were in ice; but this wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the end of September: for the sun opening the pores of the earth, and rarifying the exterior air, that which is compressed within the cavities that are in the mountains, rushes out with a constant wind. But when the operation of the sun is weakened, this course of the air is less sensible. Before or over those vaults, they build little pleasant rooms like summer-houses; and in them they go to collations generally at night in summer. I never saw bigger grapes than grow here. There is one sort bigger than the biggest Damascene plums that we have in England.

There is a sort of wine here and in the Valte-line, which I never heard named any where else, that is called *aromatic* wine: and as the taste makes one think it must be a composition, (for it tastes like a strong water drawn off spices), so its strength being equal to a weak brandy, disposes one to believe that it cannot be a natural wine; and yet it is the pure juice of the grape without any mixture. The liquor being singular, I informed myself particularly of the way of preparing it. The grapes are red, though it drinks white. They let the grapes hang on the vines till November, that they are extreme ripe. Then they carry them to their garrets, and set them all upright on their ends by one another for two or three months; then they pick all the grapes, and throw away those in which there is the least appearance of rottenness; so that they press none but sound grapes. After they are

pressed, they put the liquor in an open vessel; in which it throws up a scum, which they take off twice a-day; and when no more scum comes up, which, according to the difference of the season, is sooner or later, (for sometimes the scum comes no more after eight days, and at other times it continues a fortnight), then they put it in a close vessel. For the first year it is extreme sweet and luscious; but at the end of the year, they pierce it a little higher than the middle of the vessel, almost two thirds from the bottom, and drink it off till it cometh so low, and then every year they fill it up anew. Once a-year, in the month of March, it ferments, and cannot be drank till that is over, which continues a month; but their other wine ferments not at that time. Madam de Salis, a lady of that country, who entertained us three days with a magnificence equal to what can be done in London or Paris, had wine of this composition that was forty years old, and was so very strong that one could hardly drink above a spoonful; and it tasted high of spicery, though she assured me there was not one grain of spice in it, nor of any other mixture whatsoever. Thus the heat that is in this wine becomes a fire, and distils itself, throwing up the more spirituous parts of it to the top of the hogthead.

Both here and in the Grisons the meat is very juicy. The fowl are excellent; their roots and herbs very tasteful; but the fish of their lakes are beyond any thing I ever saw. They live in a great simplicity as to their habit and furniture; but they have plenty of all things, and are extreme rich. The family where we were so nobly entertained, is believed to have about two hundred thousand crowns. Here the Italian custom, of one only of a family that marries, takes place generally. There is a sort of pots of stone that is used not only in all the kitchens

kitchens here, but almost all Lombardy over, called *lavege*. The stone feels oily and scaly; so that a scale sticks to one's finger that touches it, and is somewhat of the nature of a slate. There are but three mines of it known in these parts; one near Chavennes, another in the Valteline, and the third in the Grisons; but the first is much the best. They generally cut it in the mine round, of about a foot and a half diameter, and about a foot and a quarter thick; and they work it in a mill, where the chissels that cut the stone are driven about by a wheel that is set a-going by water; and which is so ordered, that he who manages the chissel very easily draws forward the wheel out of the course of the water. They turn off first the outward coat of this stone, till it is exactly smooth, and then they separate one pot after another by those small and hooked chissels, by which they make a nest of pots, all one within another, the outward and biggest being as big as an ordinary beef-pot, and the inward pot being no bigger than a small pipkin. These they arm with hooks and circles of brass, and so they are served by them in their kitchens. One of these stone pots takes heat and boils sooner than any pot of metal; and whereas the bottoms of metal pots transmit the heat so entirely to the liquor within, that they are not insufferably hot, the bottom of this stone pot, which is about twice so thick as a pot of metal, burns extremely. It never cracks, neither gives any sort of taste to the liquor that is boiled in it; but if it falls to the ground, it is very brittle: yet this is repaired by patching it up; for they piece their broken pots so close, though without any cement, by sewing with iron wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the wire, there is not the least breach made, except that which the wire both makes and fills. The passage to this

mine is very inconvenient; for they must creep in to it for near half a mile through a rock, that is so hard, that the passage is not above three foot high; and so those that draw out the stones creep all along up on their belly, having a candle fastened in their forehead, and the stone laid on a sort of cushion made for it upon their hips. The stones are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned some falls of mountains in those parts, I cannot pass by the extraordinary fate of the town of Pleurs, that was about a league from Chavennes to the north in the same bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raised. The town was half the bigness of Chavennes; the number of the inhabitants was about two and twenty hundred persons: but it was much more nobly built; for, besides the great palace of the Francken that cost some millions, there were many other palaces that were built by several rich factors both of Milan and the other parts of Italy, who liked the situation and air, as well as the freedom of the government of this place; so they used to come hither during the heats, and here they gave themselves all the indulgences that a vast wealth could furnish. By one of the palaces that was a little distant from the town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest. It was an out-house of the family of the Francken, and yet it may compare with many palaces in Italy; and certainly house and gardens could not cost so little as one hundred thousand crowns. The voluptuousness of this place became very crying; and Madam de Salis told me, that she had heard her mother often relate some passages of a Protestant minister's sermons, that preached in a little church, which those of that religion had there, and warned them often of the terrible judgments of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed
would

would suddenly break out upon them. On the twenty-fifth of August 1618, an inhabitant came, and told them to be gone, for he saw the mountains cleaving; but he was laughed at for his pains. He had a daughter, whom he persuaded to leave all, and go with him; but when she was gone out of town with him, she called to mind that she had not locked the door of a room in which she had some things of value, and so she went back to do that, and was buried with the rest; for at the hour of supper the hill fell down, and buried the town and all the inhabitants, so that not one person escaped. The fall of the mountains did so fill the channel of the river, that the first news those of Chavennes had of it, was by the failing of their river; for three or four hours there came not a drop of water; but the river wrought for itself a new course, and returned to them. I could hear no particular character of the man who escaped, so I must leave the secret reason of so singular a preservation to the great discovery at the last day, of those steps of divine providence that are now so unaccountable. Some of the family of the Franks got some miners to work under ground, to find out the wealth that was buried in their palace; for besides their plate and furniture, there was great store of cash, and many jewels, in the house. The miners pretended they could find nothing; but they went to their country of Tirol, and built fine houses; and a great wealth appeared, of which no other visible account could be given but this, that they had found some of that treasure. The chief factors of Italy have been Grisons; and they told me, that as the trade of banking began in Lombardy, so that all Europe over a Lombard and a banker signified the same thing; so the great bankers of Lombardy were Grisons, and to this day the Grisons drive a great trade in money: for a man there of

a hundred thousand crowns estate, hath not perhaps a third part of it within the country, but puts it out in the neighbouring states: and the liberty of the country is such, that the natives, when they have made up estates elsewhere, are glad to leave even Italy; and the best parts of Germany, and to come and live among those mountains, of which the very sight is enough to fill a man with horror.

From Chavennes we went for two hours through a plain to the lake of Chavennes, which is almost round, and is about two miles diameter. This lake falls into the lake of Como, over-against the fort Fuentes. When we passed there, the water was so low, that the boat could not easily get over a bank that lay between the two lakes. The lake of Como is about eight and forty miles long, and four broad; it runs between two ranges of hills. I did not stay long enough in Como, to give any description of it; for I thought to have returned that way from a little tour that I made into the *bailiages* that the Switzers have in Italy, of Lugane, Locarno, and Bellinzona: but I took another course, so I saw nothing in Como. The best thing in it is a fine chapel, which the present Pope, who is a native of Como, is building. From Como, we went eight miles to Codelaggo, which belongs to the Switzers, and from thence to Lugane we had eight miles of lake. This lake doth not run in an even current, as the other lakes that rise under the Alps; but the situation of the hills about it throws it into several courses.

The Switzers have here several little provinces, or *bailiages*, of which, during the wars of Italy between the Dukes of Milan and the two crowns, in Francis I. and Charles V.'s time, they possessed themselves, as a pledge for payment of their arrears; and they were then such considerable allies, that they made both the competitors for the duchy of

of Milan court them by turns, and became the peaceable possessors of almost all that tract that lies between the lake of Como to the country of the Varesii, or the vallies. The inhabitants here are so well used, they live so free of all impositions, and the Switzers government is so gentle, that here I must tell you another paradox. This is the worst country, the least productive, the most exposed to cold, and the least capable of trade of all Italy; and yet it is by far the best peopled of any that I saw in all Italy. There belong to the *bailiages* of Lugane alone ninety-nine villages, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of people. The twelve ancient cantons have their turns of all the *bailiages* and other offices here; but when it comes to the turn of those of the religion, their *bailiffs* must be contented with private devotions in their own house, but can have no public exercises, nor so much as a minister in their houses. For here, as in the Valteline, when the Spaniards confirmed the right of the cantons to those territories, they made an express provision, that no religion, except the Popish, should be tolerated here; so that the *bailiff*, who is the prince, often hath not the free liberty of his religion in these parts. The *bailiffs* here make their advantages as well as in the other parts of Switzerland, but yet with more caution; for they take great care not to give the natives any distaste, though the miseries to which they see all their neighbours exposed, and the abundance and liberty in which they live, should by all appearance deliver their masters from any great apprehensions of a revolt. A great many mechanics, of all sorts, live in these parts, who go all summer long over Italy, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all taxes. I was told, that some nephews of Popes, in particular the Barberinis, had treated with the

Switzers

Switzers to buy this country from them, and so to erect it into a principality; and that they had resolved to offer twelve hundred thousand crowns to the twelve cantons: but they found it would certainly be rejected, so they made not the proposition to the diet of the cantons, as they once intended. And it is certain, whensoever this country is brought under a yoke, like that which the rest of Italy bears, it will be soon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws so many people to live in so ill a soil, when they are in sight of the best soil in Europe, but the easiness of the government. From Lugane I went to the Lago Maggiore, which is a great and noble lake. It is six and fifty miles long, and in most places six miles broad, and a hundred fathom deep about the middle of it; it makes a great bay to the westward. And there lie here two islands called the *Borromean islands*, that are certainly the loveliest spots of ground in the world. There is nothing in all Italy that can be compared to them; they have the full view of the lake, and the ground rises so sweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined like the terrasses here. They belong to two Counts of the Borromean family. I was only in one of them, which belongs to the head of the family, who is nephew to the famous Cardinal known by the name of *S. Carlo*. On the west end lies the palace, which is one of the best of Italy for the lodgings within, though the architecture is but ordinary. There is one noble apartment above four and twenty foot high, and there is a vast addition making to it; and here is a great collection of noble pictures, beyond anything I saw out of Rome. The whole island is a garden, except a little corner to the south, set off for a village of about forty little houses. And because the figure of the island was not more regular by nature, they have built great vaults and porticos along the rock, which are all made

made grotesque; and so they have brought it to a regular form, by laying earth over those vaults. There is first a garden to the east, that rises up from the lake by five rows of terrasses on the three sides of the garden, that are watered by the lake; the stairs are noble, the walls are all covered with oranges and citrons, and a more beautiful spot of a garden cannot be seen. There are two buildings in the two corners of this garden; the one is only a mill for fetching up the water, and the other is a noble summer-house, all wainscotted, if I may speak so, with alabaster and marble, of a fine colour, inclining to red. From this garden one goes in a level to all the rest of the alleys and parterres, herb-gardens and flower-gardens; in all which there are variety of fountains and arbours: but the great parterre is a surprising thing; for as it is well furnished with statues and fountains, and is of a vast extent, and justly situated to the palace, so at the further end of it there is a great mount; that face of it that looks to the parterre is made like a theatre, all full of fountains and statues, the height rising up in five several rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourscore foot in front; and round this mount, answering to the five rows into which the theatre is divided, there go as many terrasses of noble walks. The walls are all as close covered with oranges and citrons, as any of our walls in England are with laurel. The top of the mount is seventy foot long, and forty broad; and here is a vast cistern, into which the mill plays up the water that must furnish all the fountains. The fountains were not quite finished when I was there; but when all is finished, this place will look like an *enchanted island*. The freshness of the air, it being both in a lake, and near the mountains, the fragrant smell, the beautiful prospect, and the delightful variety that is here, makes it such a habitation

station for summer, that perhaps the whole world hath nothing like it. From this I went to Sestio, a miserable village at the end of the lake. And here I began to feel a mighty change, being now in Lombardy, which is certainly the beautifullest country that can be imagined: the ground lies so even, it is so well watered, so sweetly divided by rows of trees, inclosing every piece of ground of an acre or two acres compass, that it cannot be denied, that here is a vast extent of soil, above two hundred miles long, and in many places a hundred miles broad, where the whole country is equal to the loveliest spots in all England or France; it hath all the sweetness that Holland or Flanders have, but with a warmer sun, and a better air. The neighbourhood of the mountains causes a freshness of air here, that makes the soil the most desirable place to live in that can be seen, if the government were not so excessively severe, that there is nothing but poverty over all this rich country. A traveller in many places finds almost nothing, and is so ill furnished, that if he doth not buy provisions in the great towns, he will be obliged to a very severe diet, in a country that he should think flowed with milk and honey. But I shall say more of this hereafter. The Lago Maggiore discharges itself in the river Tesine, which runs with such a force, that we went thirty miles in three hours, having but one rower, and the water was no way swelled. From this we went into the canal, which Francis I. cut from this river to the town of Milan, which is about thirty foot broad; and on both banks there are such provisions to discharge the water when it rises to such a height, that it can never be fuller of water than is intended it should be: it lies also so even, that sometimes, for six miles together, one sees the line so exact, that there is not the least crook. It is thirty miles long,

long, and is the best advantage that the town of Milan hath for water-carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long description of this great city, which is one of the noblest in the world, to be an inland town, that hath no great court, no commerce either by sea or any navigable river, and that is now the metropolis of a very small state; for that which is not mountainous in this state is not above sixty miles square, and yet it produces a wealth that is surprising. It pays for an establishment of seven and forty thousand men, and yet there are not sixteen thousand soldiers effectively in it; so many are ate up by those in whose hands the government is lodged. But the vastness of the town, the nobleness of the buildings, and, above all, the surprising riches of the churches and convents, are signs of great wealth. The dome hath nothing to commend it of architecture, it being built in the rude Gothic manner; but for the vastness and riches of the building, it is equal to any in Italy, St Peter's itself not excepted. It is all marble, both pavement and walls, both outside and inside, and on the top it is all flagged with marble; and there is the vastest number of niches for statues of marble, both within and without, that are any where to be seen. It is true, the statues in some of the niches are not proportioned to the niches themselves. The frontispiece is not yet made; it is to be all over covered with statues and bas reliefs; and the pillars, of which there are four rows in the body of the church, have each of them eight niches at the top for so many statues: and though one would think this church so full of statues, that almost every saint hath his statue; yet I was assured they wanted seven thousand to finish the design; but these must chiefly belong to the frontispiece. The church, as I could measure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred

foot long, and two hundred wide; the choir is wainscotted, and carved in so extraordinary a manner, that I never saw passion so well expressed in wood. It contains sixty stalls, and they have almost all the histories of the gospel represented in them. Just under the cupola lies S. Carlo's body, in a great case of crystal, of vast value; but I could not come near it; for we were there on two holidays, and there was a perpetual croud about it: and the superstition of the people for his body is such, that on a holiday one runs a hazard that comes near it without doing some reverence. His canonization cost the town a hundred thousand crowns. They pretend they have miracles too for Cardinal Frederigo Borromeo; but they will not set about his canonization, the price is so high. The plate and other presents made to S. Carlo, are things of a prodigious value; some services for the altar are all of gold, some very massive, and set with jewels; others so finely wrought, that the fashion is thought equal to the value of the metal. The habits, and all the other ornaments for the function of his canonization, are all of an incredible wealth. He was indeed a prelate of great merit; and, according to the answer that a frier made to Philip de Comines, when he asked him, How they came to qualify one of the worst of their princes with the title of *saint*, in an inscription which he read? which was, That they gave that title to all their benefactors; never man deserved of a town this title so justly as Cardinal Borromeo did: for he laid out a prodigious wealth in Milan, leaving nothing to his family, but the honour of having produced so great a man; which is a real temporal inheritance to it. For as there have been since that time two cardinals of that family, so it is esteemed a *casa santa*; and every time that it produces an ecclesiastic of any considerable merit, he

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is sure, if he lives to it, to be raised to this archbishoprick: for if there were one of the family capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might dispose the state to a rebellion; and he were a bold man that would adventure on a competition with one of this family. He laid out a great deal on the dome, and consecrated it, though the work will not be quite finished yet for some ages; that being one of the crafts of the Italian priests, never to finish a great design, that so, by keeping it still in an unfinished state, they may be always drawing great donations to it from the superstition of the people. He built the archbishop's palace, which is very noble; and a seminary, a college for the Switzers, several parish-churches, and many convents. In short, the whole town is full of the marks of his wealth. The riches of the churches of Milan strike one with amazement; the building, the painting, the altars, and the plate, and every thing in the convents, except their libraries, are all signs both of great wealth, and of a very powerful superstition. But their libraries not only here, but all Italy over, are scandalous things. The room is often fine, and richly adorned; but the books are few, ill bound, and worse chosen; and the ignorance of the priests both secular and regular is such, that no man that hath not had occasion to discover it can easily believe it. The convent of S. Victor, that is without the town, is by much the richest; it is composed of canons regular, called in Italy, *The order of mount Olive*, or *Olivetans*. That of the Barnabites is extreme rich; there is a pulpit and a confessional all inlaid with agates of different colours, finely spotted marbles, and *lapis lazuli*, that are thought almost inestimable. S. Laurence has a noble cupola, and a pulpit of the same form with that of the Barnabites. The Jesuits, the Theatines, the Dominicans, and S. Sebastian,

habitants, are very rich. The citadel is too well known to need a description; it is very regularly built, and is a most effectual restraint to keep the town in order: but it could not stand out against a good army three days; for it is so little, and so full of buildings, that it could not resist a shower of bombs. The hospital is indeed a royal building; I was told it had ninety thousand crowns revenue. The old court is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot square; and there are three rows of corridors or galleries all round the court, one in every stage, according to the Italian manner; which makes the lodgings very convenient, and gives a gallery before every door. It is true, these take up a great deal of the building, being ordinarily eight or ten foot broad; but then here is an open space, that is extreme cool on that side where the sun doth not lie: for it is all open to the air, the wall being only supported by pillars, at the distance of fifteen or twenty foot one from another. In this hospital there are not only galleries full of beds on both sides, as is ordinary in all hospitals; but there are also a great many chambers, in which persons whose condition was formerly distinguished, are treated with a particular care. There is an out-house, which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the walls, which belongs to this hospital; it is an exact quarter of a mile square, and there are three hundred and sixty rooms in it, and a gallery runs all along before the chambers; so that, as the service is convenient, the sick have a covered walk before their doors. In the middle of this vast square, there is an octangular chapel so contrived, that the sick from all their beds may see the elevation of the *hostie*, and adore it. This house is for the plague, or for infectious

feetious fevers; and the sick that want a freer air are also removed hither.

As for the devotions of this place, I saw here the Ambrosian office, which is distinguished from the Roman, both in the music, which is much simpler, and in some other rites. The gospel is read in a high pulpit at the lower end of the choir; that so it may be heard by all the people; though this is needless, since it is read in a language that they do not understand. When they go to say high mass, the priest comes from the high altar to the lower end of the choir, where the offertory of the bread and the wine is made by some of the laity. They were nuns that made it when I was there. I heard a Capuchin preach here; it was the first sermon I heard in Italy; and I was much surprised at many comical expressions and gestures, but most of all with the conclusion: for there being in all the pulpits of Italy a crucifix on the side of the pulpit towards the altar, he, after a long address to it, at last, in a forced transport, took it in his arms, and hugged it, and kissed it: but I observed, that before he kissed it, he, seeing some dust on it, blew it off very carefully; for I was just under the pulpit. He entertained it with a long and tender caress, and held it out to the people, and would have forced tears both from himself and them, yet I saw none shed. But if the sermon in the morning surprised me, I wondered no less at two discourses that I heard in one church at the same time in the afternoon. For there were two bodies of men set down in different places of the church, all covered, and two laymen, in ordinary habits, were entertaining them with discourses of religion in a catechetical style. These were confraternities, and these were some of the more devout that instructed the rest. This, as I never saw any where else, so I do not know whether it is peculiar to Milan or

not. My conductor could not speak Latin; and the Italian there is so different from the true Tuscan, which I only knew, that I could not understand him when he was engaged in a long discourse; so I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think it might have been some institution of Cardinal Borromeo's. The Ambrosian library, founded by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, is a very noble room, and well furnished; only it is too full of schoolmen and canonists, which are the chief studies of Italy, and it hath too few books of a more solid and useful learning. One part of the disposition of the room was pleasant; there is a great number of chairs placed all round it at a competent distance from one another; and to every chair there belongs a desk, with an ecritoire, that hath pen, ink, and paper in it; so that every man finds tools here for such extracts as he would make. There is a little room of manuscripts at the end of the great gallery, but the library-keeper knows little of them; a great many of them relate to their St Charles. I saw some fragments of Latin Bibles, but none seemed to be above six hundred years old. There are also some fragments of St Ambrose's works, and of St Jerome's epistles, that are of the same antiquity. I was sorry not to find St Ambrose's works entire, that I might have seen whether the books of the sacraments ascribed to him are in ancient copies; for perhaps they belong to a more modern author. It is true, in these books the doctrine of a sort of corporal presence is asserted in very high expressions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is stronger against it than all those citations can be for it: for the author gives us the formal words of the prayer of consecration in his time, which he prefaces with some solemnity: *Will you know how the change is wrought? Hear the heavenly words;*

words; for the priest saith, &c. But whereas in the present canon in the mass, the prayer of consecration is for a good part of it very near in the same words with those which he mentions, there is one essential difference; for in the canon they now pray, that the *hostie may be* to them the body and blood of Christ, (which, by the way, doth not agree too well with the notion of transubstantiation, and approacheth more to the doctrine of the Lutherans); whereas in the prayer cited by that author, the *hostie* is said to be *the figure of the body and blood of Christ*. Here is the language of the whole church of that time, and in the most important part of the divine office; which signifieth more to me than a thousand quotations out of particular writers, which are but their private opinions; but this is the voice of the whole body in its addresses to God; and it seems the church of Rome, when the new doctrine of the corporal presence was received, saw that this prayer of consecration could not consist with it, which made her change such a main part of the office. This gave me a curiosity every where to search for ancient offices; but as I found none in the abbey of St. Germain's that seemed older than the time of Charles the Great, so I found none of any great antiquity in all Italy. Those published by Cardinal Bona, and since by P. Mabillon, that were brought from Heidelberg, are the most ancient that are in the Vatican; but these seem not to be above eight hundred years old. There are none of the ancient Roman offices now to be seen in the Vatican. I was amazed to find none of any great antiquity; which made me conclude, that either they were destroyed, that so the difference between ancient and modern rituals might not be turned against that church, as an undeniable evidence to prove the changes that she hath made in divine matters; or that they were so well

well kept, that heretics were not suffered to look into them. But to return to the Ambrosian library. There is in it a manuscript of great antiquity, though not of such great consequence; which is Ruffinus's translation of Josephus, that is written in the old Roman hand, which is very hard to be read. But there is a deed in the curious collection that Count Mascardo hath made at Verona, which, by the date, appears to have been written in Theodosius's time, which is the same sort of writing with the manuscript of Ruffinus; so that it may be reckoned to have been writ in Ruffinus's own time; and this is the most valuable, though the least known curiosity, in the whole library.

I need not say any thing of the curious works in crystal that are to be seen in Milan. The greatest quantities that are in Europe, are found in the Alps, and are wrought here: but this is too well known to need any farther enlargement. It is certain, the Alps have much wealth shut up in their rocks, if the inhabitants knew how to search for it. But I heard of no mines that were wrought, except iron mines; yet by the colourings that in many places the fountains make as they run along the rocks, one sees cause to believe that there are mines and minerals shut up within them. Gold has been often found in the river Arve that runs by Geneva.

The last curiosity that I shall mention of the town of Milan, is the cabinet of the Chanoine Settala, which is now in his brother's hands; where there are a great many very valuable things both of art and nature. There is a lump of ore, in which there is both gold, and silver, and emeralds, and diamonds, which was brought from Peru. There are many curious motions; where, by an unseen spring, a ball, after it hath rolled down through many winding descents, is thrown up, and so it seems.

seems to be a perpetual motion. This is done in several forms; and it is well enough disguised to deceive the vulgar. Many motions of little animals, that run about by springs, are also very pretty. There is a loadstone of a vast force, that carries a great chain. There is also a monstrous child, that was lately born in the hospital, which is preserved in spirit of wine. It is double below. It hath one breast and neck, two pair of ears, a vast head, and but one face. As for the buildings in Milan, they are big and substantial; but they have not much regular or beautiful architecture. The governor's palace hath some noble apartments in it. The chief palace of the town is that of the Homodei, which was built by a banker. There is one inconvenience in Milan, which throws down all the pleasure that one can find in it. They have no glass windows; so that one is either exposed to the air, or shut up in a dungeon. And this is so universal, that there is not one house of ten that hath glass in their windows. The same defect is in Florence, besides all the small towns of Italy; which is an effect of their poverty; for, what by the oppression of the government, what by the no less squeezing oppression of their priests, who drain all the rest of their wealth, that is not eat up by the prince, to enrich their churches and convents, the people here are reduced to a poverty that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the wealth that is in their churches. And this is going on so constantly in Milan, that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast a treasure can be found. But purgatory is a fund not easily exhausted. The wealth of the Milanese consists chiefly in their silks; and that trade falls so mightily by the vast importations that the East-India companies bring into Europe, that all Italy feels this very sensibly, and languishes extremely by the great fall that is in the silk-trade.

There

There is a great magnificence in Milan: The nobility affect to make a noble appearance, both in their cloaths, their coaches, and their attendants; and the women go abroad with more freedom here than in any town of Italy. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am,

Your's, &c.

P O S T S C R I P T .

IN the account that I gave you of Geneva, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary person that is there, Mrs Walkier. Her father is of Shaffhouse. She lost her sight when she was but a year old, by being too near a stove that was very hot. There is a hole in the upper part of her eye so much sight, that she distinguishes day from night; and when any person stands between her and the light, she will distinguish by the head and its dress, a man from a woman; but when she turns down her eyes, she sees nothing. She hath a vast memory. Besides the French, which is her natural language, she speaks both High Dutch, Italian, and Latin. She hath all the Psalms by heart, in French, and many of them in Dutch and Italian. She understands the old philosophy well, and is now studying the new. She hath studied the body of divinity well, and hath the text of the scriptures very ready. On all which matters I had long conversation with her. She not only sings well, but plays rarely on the organ; and I was told she played on the violin, but her violin was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she writes legibly. In order to her learning to write, her father, who is a worthy man, and hath such tenderness for her, that he furnisheth her with masters of all sorts; ordered letters to be carved in wood; and she, by feel-
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ing the characters, formed such an idea of them, that she writes with a *crayon* so distinctly, that her writing can be well read; of which I have several essays. I saw her write. She doth it more nimbly than can be imagined. She hath a machine that holds the paper, and keeps her always in line. But that which is above all the rest, she is a person of extraordinary devotion, great resignation to the will of God, and a profound humility. The preceptor, that her father kept in the house with her, hath likewise a wonderful faculty of acquiring tongues. When he came first to Geneva, (for he is of Zurich), he spoke not a word of French, and within thirteen months he preached in French correctly, and with a good accent. He also began to study Italian in the month of November, and before the end of the following February he preached in Italian. His accent was good, and his style was florid; which was very extraordinary; for the Italian language is not spoken in Geneva, though the race of the Italians do keep up still an Italian church there.

* *Milan, Oct. 1. 1685.*

L E T T E R III.

I Have now another month over my head since I writ last to you, and so I know you expect an account of the most considerable things that have occurred to me since my last, from Milan. Twenty miles from Milan we passed through Lodi, a miserable garrison, though a frontier-town. But indeed the frontiers, both of the Spaniards and the Venetians, as well as those of the other princes of Italy, shew that they are not very apprehensive one of another. And when one passes through those places

places which are represented in history as places of great strength, capable of resisting a long siege, he must acknowledge, that the sight of them brings the idea that he had conceived of them a great many degrees lower. For Lombardy, which was so long the seat of war, could not stand out against a good army for so many days; as it did then for years. The garrison of Crema, which is the first of the Venetian territory, is no better than that of Lodi, only the people in the Venetian dominion live happier than under the Spaniard.

The senate sends *podeslas*, much like the *bailiffs* of the Switzers, who order the justice and the civil government of the jurisdiction assigned them. There is also a captain-general, who hath the military authority in his hands; and these two are checks upon one another, as the *bashaws* and the *cadis* are among the Turks. But here in Crema the town is so small, that both these are in one person. We were there in the time of the fair. Linen cloth and cheese (which though it goes by the name of the Parmesan, is made chiefly in Lodi) are the main commodities of the fair. The magnificence of the *podesla* appeared very extraordinary; for he went through the fair with a great train of coaches, all in his own livery; and the two coaches in which he and his lady rode, were both extraordinary rich. His was a huge bed-coach, all the outside black velvet, and a mighty rich gold fringe, lined with black damask, flowered with gold. From Crema it is thirty miles to Brescia; which is a great town, and full of trade and wealth. Here they make the best barrels for pistols and muskets of all Italy. There are great iron works near it; but the war with the Turk had occasioned an order, that none might be sold without a permission from Venice. They are building a noble dome at Brescia. I was shewed a nunnery there, which is now under a
great

great disgrace. Some years ago a new building thither, began with the visitation of that nunnery. He discovered two vaults; by one, men came ordinarily into it; and by another, the nuns that were big went and lay in childbed. When he was examining the nuns severely concerning those vaults, some of them told him, that his own priests did much worse. He shut up the nuns; so that those who are professed live still there, but none come to take the veil; and by this means the house will soon come to an end. The citadel lies over the town on a rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here and in Crema the towns have begun a compliment, within these last ten or twelve years, to their *podeslas*; which is a matter of great ornament to their palaces, but will grow to a vast charge; for they erect statues to their *podeslas*. And this being once begun, must be carried on, otherwise those to whom the like honour is not done, will resent it as an high affront; and the revenges of the noble Venetians are dreadful things to their subjects. This name of *podesla* is very ancient; for in the Roman times the chief magistrates of the lesser towns were called the *poteslas*; as appears by that of Juvenal,

—*Fidenarum Gabiorumve esse potestas.*

From Brescia the beauty of Lombardy is a little interrupted: for as all the way from Milan to Brescia is as one garden; so here on the one side we come under the mountains, and we pass by the lake of Garda, which is forty miles long, and, where it is broadest, is twenty miles over. The miles indeed all Lombardy over are extreme short; for I walked often four or five miles in a walk, and I found a thousand paces made their common mile; but in Tuscany, and the kingdom of Naples, the mile is fifteen hundred paces. We pass through a great

heath for seven or eight miles on this side of Verona, which begins to be cultivated. Verona is a vast town, and much of it well built. There are many rich churches in it; but there is so little trade stirring, and so little money going, that it is not easy here to change a pistole without taking their coin of base alloy, which doth not pass out of the Veronese: for this seems a strange maxim of the Venetians, to suffer those small states to retain still a coin peculiar to them, which is extreme inconvenient for commerce. The known antiquity of Verona is the amphitheatre, one of the least of all that the Romans built, but the best preserved; for though most of the great stones of the outside are picked out; yet the great sloping vault, on which the rows of the seats are laid, is entire. The rows of the seats are also entire. They are four and forty rows. Every row is a foot and a half high, and as much in breadth; so that a man sits conveniently in them under the feet of those of the higher row; and allowing every man a foot and a half, the whole amphitheatre can hold twenty-three thousand persons. In the vaults, under the rows of seats, were the stalls of the beasts that were presented to entertain the company. The thickness of the building, from the outward wall to the lowest row of seats, is ninety foot. But this noble remnant of antiquity is so often and so copiously described, that I will say no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Musæum calceolarium*, now in the hands of Count Mascardo, where there is a whole apartment of rooms all furnished with antiquities and rarities. There are some old inscriptions, made by two towns in Afric, to the honour of M. Crassus. There is a great collection of medals and medaillons, and of the Roman weights, with their instruments for their sacrifices. There are many curiosities of nature, and a great collection

collection of pictures ; of which many are of Paulo Veronese's hand. There is a noble garden in Verona, that rises up in terrasses the whole height of a hill, in which there are many ancient inscriptions, which belongs to Court Giusto. As we go from Verona to Vincenza, which is thirty miles, we return to the beauty of Lombardy ; for there is all the way, as it were, a succession of gardens. The ground is better cultivated here than I saw it in any other place of Italy : but the wine is not good ; for at the roots of all their trees they plant a vine, which grows up winding about the tree to which it joins : but the soil is too rich to produce a rich wine, for that requires a dry ground. There is near the lake of Guarda a very extraordinary wine, which they call *vino santo*, which drinks like the best sort of Canary. It is not made till Christmas, and from thence it carries the name of *holy wine* ; and it is not to be drunk till Midsummer, for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear ; but I have not marked down how long it may be kept. We had it there for a groat an English quart. I wondered that they did not trade with it. All the cattle of Italy are gray or white ; and all their hogs are black, except in the Bolognese, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the reasons of these things. It is certain hogs flesh in Italy is much better than it is in France and England. Whether the truffles, on which they feed much in winter, occasion this or not, I know not. The husks of the pressed grapes are also a mighty nourishment to them ; but cattle of that grayish colour are certainly weaker. The carriage of Italy is generally performed by them. And this is very hard work in Lombardy, when it hath rained ever so little ; for the ground being quite level, and there being no raised highways or causeways, the carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath still more of its ancient liberty reserved than any of these towns; as Padua hath less: for it delivered itself to the Venetians; whereas the other disputed long with it, and brought it often very low. One sees the marks of liberty in Vincenza, in the riches of their palaces and churches, of which many are newly built. They have a modern theatre, made in imitation of the ancient Roman theatres. Count Valarano's garden at the port of Verona, is the finest thing of the town. There is in it a very noble alley of oranges and citrons, some as big as a man's body; but those are covered all the winter long: for in this appears the sensible difference of Lombardy from those parts of Italy that lie to the south of the Apennines, that here generally they keep their oranges and citrons in great boxes as we do in England, that so they may be lodged in winter, and defended from the breezes that blow sometimes so sharp from the Alps, that otherwise they would kill those delicate plants; whereas in Tuscany they grow, as other trees, in their gardens; and in the kingdom of Naples they grow wild, without any care or cultivation. We were at Vincenza upon a holiday, and there I saw a preparation for a procession that was to be in the afternoon: I did not wonder at what a French Papist said to me, that he could hardly bear the religion of Italy, the idolatry in it was so gross. The statue of the virgin was of wood, so finely painted, that I thought the head was wax. It was richly clad, and had a crown on its head, and was set full of flowers. How they did when it was carried about, I do not know; but in the morning all people ran to it, and said their prayers to it, and kissed the ground before it, with all the appearances of devotion.

From Vincenza it is eighteen miles to Padua, all like a garden. Here one sees the decays of a
vast

vast city, which was once one of the biggest of all Italy. The compass is the same that it was; but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and houses there go almost for nothing. The air is extreme good; and there is so great a plenty of all things except money, that a little money goes a great way. The university here, though so much supported by the Venetians, that they pay fifty professors, yet sinks extremely. There are no men of any great fame now in it; and the quarrels among the students have driven away most of the strangers that used to come and study there; for it is not safe to stir abroad here after sunset. The number of palaces here is incredible: and though the nobility of Padua is almost quite ruined, yet the beauty of their ancient palaces shews what they once were. The Venetians have been willing to let the ancient quarrels that were in all those conquered cities, continue still among them; for while one kills another, and the children of the other take their revenges afterwards, both come under the *bando* by this means, and the confiscation goes to the senate. At some times of grace, when the senate wants money, and offers a pardon to all that will compound for it, the numbers of the guilty persons are incredible. In Vincenza, and the country that belongs to it, I was assured by Monsieur Patin, that learned antiquary, that hath been many years a professor in Padua, that there were five and thirty thousand pardoned at the last grace. This I could hardly believe; but he bid me write it down upon his word. The nobility of Padua and of the other towns seem not to see what a profit their quarrels bring to the Venetians, and how they eat out their families; for one family in the same man's time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thousand ducats revenue to less than three thousand, by its falling at several times under

the *bando*. But their jealousies and their revenges are pursued by them with so much vigour, that when these are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the amphitheatre, though nothing but the outward wall stands. There is here also, as well as in Milan, an inward town, called *the city*, and an outward without that, called *the burgo*; but though there is a ditch about the city, the great ditch and wall goeth about all; and Padua is eight miles in compass. It lies almost round. The public hall is the noblest of Italy. The dome is an ancient and mean building. But the church of St Anthony, especially the holy chapel in it, where the saint lies, is one of the best pieces of modern sculpture; for round the chapel the chief miracles in the legend of that saint are represented in *mezzo rilievo*, in a very surprising manner. The devotion that is paid to this saint all Lombardy over is amazing. He is called by way of excellence, *Il santo*, and the beggars generally ask alms for his sake. But among the little vows that hang without the holy chapel, there is one that is the highest pitch of blasphemy that can be imagined, *Exaudit*, speaking of the saint, *quos non audit & ipse Deus*; i. e. *He bears those whom God himself doth not bear*. St Justina is a church so well ordered within, the architecture is so beautiful, it is so well enlightened, and the *cupolas* are so advantageously placed, that, if the outside answered the inside, it would be one of the best churches of Italy; but the building is of brick, and it hath no frontispiece. There are many new altars, made as fine as they are idolatrous, all full of statues of marble. This abbey hath an hundred thousand ducats of revenue; and so by its wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the Benedictine order. Cardinal Barberigo is Bishop here. He seems to set St Car-

lo before him as his pattern. He hath founded noble seminary for the secular priests: he lives in constant discipline himself, and endeavours to reform his clergy all he can; but he is now in terms with his canons, who are all noble Venetians, and so allow themselves great liberties; which they will not willingly be abridged. He charitable to a high degree; and is, in all respects a very extraordinary man.

In the Venetian territory their subjects live easy and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their quarrels: but though the taxes are not high they oppress their tenants so severely, that the peasants live most miserably. Yet on all hands round about them the oppressions being more intolerable they know not whither to go for ease; whereas, on the contrary, the miseries under which their neighbours groan, chiefly those of the ecclesiastical state send in an increase of people among them; so that they are well stocked with people. But the Venetians are so jealous of their subjects understanding military matters, which may dispose them to revolt, that they never make any levies among them for their wars. This jealousy is the true ground of that maxim; though another is pretended that is more plausible, which is, their care of their own people, whom they study to preserve; and therefore they hire strangers, rather than expose the subjects. It is certain, a revolt here were no hard matter to effectuate; for the garrisons and fortifications are so slight, that those great towns could easily shake off their yoke, if it were not for the factions that still reign among them; by which one party would chuse rather to expose the other to the rigour of the inquisitors, than concur with them asserting their liberty. And the inquisitors in such cases proceed so secretly, and yet so effectually that none dares trust another with a secret of such consequence.

consequence: and the oppressed nobility of those states retain still so much of their old and unsubdued insolence, and treat such as are under them so cruelly, that the Venetians are as secure in those conquests, as if they had many strong citadels, and numerous garrisons spread up and down among them. From Padua down to Venice, all along the river Brent, there are many palaces of the noble Venetians on both sides of the river, built with so great a variety of architecture, that there is not one of them like another. There is also the like diversity in the laying out of their gardens. And here they retire during the hot months; and some allow themselves all the excesses of dissolute liberty that can possibly be imagined. From Lizza Fucina, which is at the mouth of the Brent, we pass for five or six miles on the Lagunes, or shallows, to Venice. These shallows sink of late so much, that the preserving Venice still an island, is like to become as great a charge to the Venetians, as the keeping out the sea is to the Dutch; for they use all possible industry to cleanse the channels of the Lagunes, and to keep them full of water: and yet many think, that the water hath failed so much in this last age, that if it continues to abate at the same rate, within an age or two more Venice may become a part of the terra firma. It is certainly the most surprising sight in the whole world, to see so vast a city situated thus in the sea, and such a number of islands so united together by bridges, brought to such a regular figure, the pilotty supplying the want of earth to build on, and all so nobly built; which is, of all the things that one can see, the most amazing. And though this republic is much sunk from what it was, both by the great losses they have suffered in their wars with the Turks, and by the great decay of trade; yet there is an incredible wealth, and a vast plenty of
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all things in this place. I will not offer to describe either the church or the palace of St Mark, which are too well known to need a long digression to be made for them. The painting of the walls, and the roofs of the halls and public rooms in the palace, are of vast value. Here I saw that story of Pope Alexander III. treading on the neck of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The nobleness of the stair-cases, the riches of the halls, and the beauty of the whole building, are much prejudiced by the beastliness of those that walk along, and that leave their marks behind them, as if this were rather a common house of office, than so noble a palace. And the great hall, where the whole body of the nobility meet in the great council, hath nothing but the roof and walls that answers to such an assembly; for the seats are liker the benches of an auditory of scholars, than of so glorious a body. When the two sides of this palace are built as the third, which is the most hid, it will be one of the most glorious palaces that the world can shew. The two sides that are most seen, the one facing the square of St Mark, and the other the great canal, are only of brick, the third being all of marble; but the war of Candy put a stop to the building. St Mark's church hath nothing to recommend it, but its great antiquity, and the vast riches of the building. It is dark and low; but the pavement is so rich a mosaic, and the whole roof is also mosaic, the outside and inside are of such excellent marble, the frontispiece is adorned with so many pillars of porphyry and jasper, and above all with the four horses of Corinthian brass that Tiridates brought to Tiberius, which were carried afterwards to Constantinople, and were brought from thence to Venice, and in which the gilding is still very bright, that when all this is considered, one doth no where see so much gold brought

brought together. I did not see the gospel of St Mark, which is one of the valuablest things of the treasure ; but they do not now open it to strangers. Yet Dr Grandi, a famous physician there, told me, that by a particular order he was suffered to open it. He told me, it was all writ in capital letters ; but the characters were so worn out, that though he could discern the ends of some letters, he could not see enough to help him to distinguish them, or to know whether the manuscript was in Greek or Latin. I will not say one word of the arsenal : for as I saw it in its worst state, the war that is now on foot having disfurnished a great deal of it ; so it hath been often described, and it is known to be the noblest magazine, the best ordered, and of the greatest variety, that is in the whole world. It is true, it is all that this state hath ; so that, if the magazines of other princes, which lie spread up and down in the different places of their dominions, were gathered together, they would make a much greater shew.

The noblest convent of Venice is that of the Dominicans, called *St John and St Paul*. The church and chapels are vastly rich ; there is one of St Luke's Madona's here, as they pretend. The dormitory is very great ; the room for the library, and every thing in it, except the books, is extreme fine. But St George's, which is a convent of the Benedictines, in an isle entirely possessed by them, over-against St Mark's square, is much the richest : the church is well contrived, and well adorned ; and not only the whole building is very magnificent, but, which is more extraordinary at Venice, they have a large garden, and noble walks in it. The Redemptore and the Salute are two noble churches, that are the effects of vows that the senate made when they were afflicted with the plague. The latter is much the finer ; it is to the
virgin,

virgin, and the other is only to our Saviour: so naturally doth the devotion of that church carry it higher for the mother than the son. It is true, the Salute is later than the other; so no wonder if the architecture and the riches exceed that which is more ancient. The school of St Roch, and the chapel and hall, are full of great pieces of Tintoret's; a cœna of Paulo Veronese in the refectory of St George, and the picture of St Peter the martyr of Titian's, are the most celebrated pieces of Venice. Duke Pesaro's tomb in the friery is the noblest I ever saw. But if the riches of all the convents and parish-churches of Venice amazed me, the fronts especially, many of which are of white marble, beautified with several statues; the meanness of the library of St Mark did no less surprise me. There are in the antichamber to it statues of vast value, and the whole roof of the library is composed of several pieces of the greatest masters, put in several frames: but the library hath nothing answerable to the riches of the case; for the Greek manuscripts are all modern. I turned over a great many, and saw none above five hundred years old. I was indeed told, that the last library-keeper was accused for having conveyed away many of their manuscripts; and that four years ago, being clapped in prison for this by the inquisitors, he, to prevent further severities, poisoned himself. I went to the convent of the Servi, but I found Father Paul was not in such consideration there as he is elsewhere. I asked for his tomb; but they made no account of him, and seemed not to know where it was. It is true, the person to whom I was recommended, was not in Venice; so perhaps they refined too much in this matter. I had great discourse with some at Venice concerning the memorials out of which Father Paul drew his history, which are no doubt all preserved
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with great care in their archives; and since the transactions of the council of Trent, as they are of great importance, so they are become now much controverted, by the different relations that Father Paul and Cardinal Pallavicini have given the world of that matter. The only way to put an end to all disputes in matter of fact, is, to print the originals themselves. A person of great credit at Venice promised me to do his utmost to get that proposition set on foot; though the great exactness that the government there hath always affected, as to the matter of their archives, is held so sacred, that this made him apprehend they would not give way to any such search. The affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long conversation that I had with a person of great eminence at Venice; that as he was long at Constantinople, so he was learned far beyond what is to be met with in Italy. He told me he was at Constantinople when the inquiry into the doctrine of the Greek church was set on foot, occasioned by the famous dispute between Mr Arnaud and Mr Claude. He, being a zealous Roman Catholic, was dealt with to assist in that business; but, being a man of great honour and sincerity, he excused himself, and said he could not meddle in it. He hath a very low and bad opinion of the Greeks; and told me, *That none of their priests were more inveterate enemies to the church of Rome, than those that were bred up at Rome*: for they, to free themselves of the prejudices that their countrymen are apt to conceive against them by reason of their education among the Latins, do affect to shew an opposition to the Latin church beyond any other Greeks. He told me, that he knew the ignorance and corruption of the Greeks was such, that as they did not know the doctrines of their own church, so a very little money, or the hope of protection from any of the ambassadors that

that came from the west, would prevail with them to sign any thing that could be desired of them. He added one thing, that though he firmly believed *transubstantiation* himself, he did not think they believed it, let them say what they pleased themselves. He took his measures of the doctrine of their church rather from what they did, than from what they said; for their rites not being changed now for a great many ages, were the true indications of the doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the tradition of their doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they saw advantages or protection set before them. Therefore he concluded, that since they did not adore the sacrament after the consecration, that was an evident sign they did not believe the corporal presence, and was of a force well able to balance all their subscriptions. He told me, he was often scandalized to see them open the bag in which the sacrament was preserved, and shew it with no sort of respect, no more than when they shewed any manuscript; and he looked on adoration as such a necessary consequent of transubstantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a church that did not practise the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholic at Paris told me. He said, the originals of those attestations were in too exact and too correct a style to have been formed in Greece. He assured me they were penned at Paris by one that was a master of the purity of the Greek tongue. I do not name these persons, because they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief ornaments of Venice was the famous young woman that spake five tongues well; of which the Latin and Greek were two. She passed Doctor of physic at Padua, according to the ordinary forms; but, which was beyond all, she was a person of such extraordinary

ditary virtue and piety, that she is spoken of as a saint. She died some months before I came to Venice. She was of the noble family of the Cornaros, though not of the three chief branches; which are, St Maurice, St Paul, and Calle, who are descended from the three brothers of the renowned Queen of Cyprus; but the distinction of her family was Piscopia. Her extraordinary merit made all people unwilling to remember the blemish of her descent on the one side: for though the Cornaros reckon themselves a size of nobility beyond all the other families of Venice; yet her father having entertained a Gondalier's daughter so long, that he had some children by her; at last, for their sakes, married the mother, and paid a considerable fine to save the forfeiture of nobility, which his children must have undergone by reason of the meanness of the mother's birth. The Cornaros carry it so high, that many of the daughters of that family have made themselves nuns, because they thought their own name was so noble, that they could not induce themselves to change it for any other. And when lately one of that family married the heir of the Sagredos, which is also one of the ancientest families, that was extreme rich, and she had scarce any portion at all, (for the Cornaros are now very low), some of their friends came to wish them joy of so advantageous a match; but they very coldly rejected the compliment, and bid the others go and wish the Sagredos joy, since they thought the advantage was wholly on their side.

There are of the truly ancient noble families of Venice four and twenty yet remaining; and even among these there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in rank. Since the first formation of their senate they have created many senators. In their wars with Genoa they conferred that honour on thirty families. Several of their generals

generals have had that honour given them as a reward of their service. They have also offered this honour to some Royal families; for both the families of Valois and Bourbon were nobles of Venice; and Henry III. when he came through Venice and Poland, to take possession of the crown of France, went and sat among them, and drew his ballot as a noble Venetian. Many Popes have procured this honour for their nephews; only the Barberinis would have the Venetians offer it to them without their asking it, and the Venetians would not give it without the others asked it; and so it stuck at this. But, during the war of Candy, Cardinal Francis Barberini gave twelve thousand crowns a-year towards the war; and the temper found for making them noble Venetians was, that the Queen-mother of France moved the senate to grant it. In all the creations of senators before the last war of Candy they were free; and the considerations were either great services, or the great dignity of those on whom they bestowed this honour. Those new families are divided into those that are called *ducal families*, and those that were called simply *new families*. The reason of the former designation is not rightly understood; but one that knew all that related to that constitution particularly well, gave me a good account of it. That which naturally occurs as the reason of it, is, That all those families that are called *ducal*, have had the dukedom in their house: but as all the old families have had the same honour, though they carry not that title; so some of the new families have also had it, that yet are not called *ducal*. Others say, that those families that have had branches who have been made Dukes without their being first procurators of St Mark, or that have been chosen to that honour without their pretending to it, are called *ducal*. But the true account of this is, that

from the year 1450. to the year 1620, for an hundred and seventy years, there was a combination made among those new families to preserve the dukedom still among them; for the old families carrying it high, and excluding the new families from the chief honours, nineteen of the new families entered into mutual engagements to exclude the ancient nobility. It is true, they made the dukedom sometimes fall on some of the new families that were not of this association; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient families were shut out; and that it appeared that they bore the chief sway in the election. This combination was a thing known to the very people, though the inquisitors did all they could to break it, or at least to hide it; so that I never met with it in any of their authors. But this failed in the year 1620, when Memmio was chosen Duke, who was descended of one of the ancient nobility; which was so great a mortification to the *Casa Ducale*, that one of them, Veniero, hanged himself through the rage to which that disgrace drove him; but his man came into the room some time before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time one of the Bembo's, two of the Cornaro's, and one of the Contarinis, and the present prince of the Justinianis, the first of that family that hath had that honour, have been Dukes, who are all of the ancient families: so that this faction is now so entirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in Venice itself) that it was ever amongst them. And thus time, and other accidents, bring about happy events, which no care nor industry could produce; for that which all the endeavours of the inquisitors could not compass, was brought about of itself. It is true, the factions in Venice, though violent enough in the persons of those who manage them,

yet

yet are not derived by them as an inheritance to their posterity, as it was among the Florentines; who, though they value themselves as a size of men much above the Venetians, whom they despise as a phlegmatic and dull race of people, yet shewed how little they understood, with all their vivacity, to conduct their state; since, by their domestic heats, they lost their liberty, which the Venetians have had the wisdom still to preserve. This faction of the *Casa Ducale* was perhaps willing to let the matter fall; for they lost more than they got by it: for the ancient families, in revenge, set themselves against them, and excluded them from all the other advantageous employments of the state. For the others being only united in that single point relating to the dukedom, the ancient families let them carry it; but in all other competitions they set up always such competitors against the pretenders that were of the ducal families, who were much more esteemed than these were; so that they shut them out of all the best offices of the republic. Such a faction as this was, if it had been still kept up, might in the conclusion have proved fatal to their liberty. It is indeed a wonder to see the dignity of the Duke so much courted; for he is only a prisoner of state, tied up to such rules, so severely restrained, and shut up as it were in an apartment of the palace of St Mark, that it is not strange to see some of the greatest families, in particular the Cornaros, decline it. All the family, how numerous soever, must retire out of the senate, when a Duke is chosen out of it; only one that is next of kin to him sits still, but without a vote: and the only real privilege that the Duke hath, is, that he can of himself, without communicating with the Savil, propose matters either to the council of ten, to the senate, or to the great council; whereas all other propositions must be first offered

to the Savir, and examined by them; who have a sort of tribunitian power to reject what they dislike. And though they cannot hinder the Duke to make a proposition, yet they can mortify him when he hath made it; they can hinder it from being voted; and after it is voted, they can suspend the execution of it till it is examined over again. And a Duke that is of an active spirit must resolve to endure many of these mortifications: for it is certain, that the Savii do sometimes affect to shew the greatness of their authority, and exercise a sort of tyranny in the rejecting of propositions, when they intend to humble those that make them. Yet the greatest part of the best families court this honour of dukedom extremely. When Sagredo was upon the point of being chosen Duke, there was so violent an outcry against it over all Venice, because of the disgrace that they thought would come on the republic, if they had a prince whose nose had miscarried in some unfortunate disorders, that the senate complied so far with this aversion that the people testified, that though the inquisitors took care to hang or drown many of the chief of the mutineers, yet they let the design for Sagredo fall; upon which he was so much disgusted, that he retired to a house he had in the terra firma, and never appeared more at Venice. During which time of his retirement he wrote two books; the one, *Memoire Ottomanique*, which is printed; and he is accounted the best of all their modern authors; the other was, *Memoirs of the government and history of Venice*, which hath never been printed; and some say it is too sincere and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their archives.

It hath been a sort of maxim now for some time, not to chuse a married man to be Duke; for the coronation of a Duchess goes high, and hath cost above

bove a hundred thousand ducats. Some of the ancient families have affected the title of *prince*, and have called their branches *princes of the blood*: and though the Cornaros have done this more than any other; yet others, upon the account of some principalities that their ancestors had in the islands of the Archipelago, have also affected those vain titles. But the inquisitors have long ago obliged them to lay aside all those high titles; and such of them as boast too much of their blood, find the dislike which that brings on them very sensibly; for whensoever they pretend to any great employments, they find themselves always excluded. When an election of ambassadors was proposed, or to any of the chief offices, it was wont to be made in those terms, that the council must chuse one of its principal members for such an employment. But because this looked like a term of distinction among the nobility, they changed it five and twenty years ago; and instead of *principal*, they use now the term *honourable*; which comprehends the whole body of their nobility, without any distinction. It is at Venice, in the church, as well as in the state, that the head of the body hath a great title, and particular honours done him: whereas in the mean while this is a mere pageantry, and under these big words there is lodged only a light shadow of authority; for their Bishop has the glorious title of *Patriarch*, as well as, the Duke is called their *Prince*, and *his Serenity*, and hath his name stamped upon their coin. So the Patriarch, with all this high title, hath really no authority: for not only St Mark's church is entirely exempted from his jurisdiction, and is immediately subject to the Duke; but his authority is in all other things so subject to the senate, and so regulated by them, that he hath no more power than they are pleased to allow him. So that the senate is as really the

suprema

supreme governor over all persons and in all causes, as the Kings of England have pretended to be in their own dominions since the reformation. But besides all this, the clergy of Venice have a very extraordinary sort of exemption, and are a sort of body like a presbytery independent of the Bishop. The curates are chosen by the inhabitants of every parish: and this makes that no noble Venetian is suffered to pretend to any curacy; for they think it below that dignity, to suffer one of their body to engage in a competition with one of a lower order, and to run the hazard of being rejected. I was told, the manner of those elections was the most scandalous thing possible; for the several candidates appear on the day of election, and set out their own merits, and defame the other pretenders in the foulest language, and in the most scurrilous manner imaginable. The secrets of all their lives are published in most reproachful terms; and nothing is so abject and ridiculous, that is not put in practice on those occasions. There is a sort of an association among the curates for judging of their common concerns; and some of the laity of the several parishes assist in those courts: so that here is a real presbytery. The great libertinage that is so undecently practised by most sorts of people at Venice, extends itself to the clergy to such a degree, that though ignorance and vice seem the only indelible characters that they carry generally over all Italy; yet those appear here in a much more conspicuous manner than elsewhere; and upon these popular elections all comes out. The nuns of Venice have been under much scandal for a great while. There are some nunneries that are as famous for their strictness and exactness to their rules, as others are for the liberties they take; chiefly those of St Zachary and St Laurence, where none but noble Venetians are admitted, and where

it is not so much as pretended that they have retired for devotion; but it is owned to be done merely that they might not be too great a charge to their family. They are not veiled; their neck and breast are bare, and they receive much company. But that which I saw was in a public room, in which there were many grills for several parlours, so that the conversation is very confused; for there being a different company at every grill, and the Italians speaking generally very loud, the noise of so many loud talkers is very disagreeable. The nuns talk much, and very ungracefully; and allow themselves a liberty in rallying that other places could not bear. About four years ago the Patriarch intended to bring a reform into those houses; but the nuns of St Laurence, with whom he began, told him plainly they were noble Venetians, who had chosen that way of life as more convenient for them; but they would not subject themselves to his regulations: yet he came and would have shut up their house; so they went to set fire to it; upon which the senate interposed, and ordered the Patriarch to desist. There is no Christian state in the world that hath expressed a jealousy of churchmens getting into the public councils so much as the Venetians; for as a noble Venetian that goes into orders loses thereby his right of going to vote in the great council, so when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole kindred and family must, during their lives, withdraw from the great council; and are also incapable of all employments: and by a clause which they added when they received the inquisition, which seemed of no great consequence, they have made it to become a court absolutely subject to them; for it being provided, that the inquisitors should do nothing but in the presence of such as should be deputed by the senate to be the witnesses of their proceedings,

ings, those deputies either will not come but when they think fit, or will not stay longer than they are pleased with their proceedings; so that either their absence, or their withdrawing, dissolves the court; for a citation cannot be made, a witness cannot be examined, nor the least point of form carried on, if the deputies of the senate are not present. And thus it is, that though there is a court of inquisition at Venice, yet there is scarce any person brought into trouble by it; and there are many of the Protestant religion that live there without any trouble: and though there is a congregation of them there, that hath their exercises of religion very regularly, yet the senate gives them no trouble. It is true, the *hospie's* not being carried about in procession, but secretly by the priest to the sick, makes that this uneasy discrimination of Protestant and Papist doth not offer itself here, as in other places; for the narrowness of the streets, and the channels through which one must go almost every foot, makes that this could not be done in Venice, as it is elsewhere; and from Venice this rule is carried over their whole territory, though the like reason doth not hold in the terra firma. The Venetians are generally ignorant of the matters of religion to a scandal; and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are strangers to them. So that all that vast pomp in their ceremonies, and wealth in their churches, is affected rather as a point of magnificence, or a matter of emulation among families, than that superstition hath here such a power over the spirits of the people, as it hath elsewhere; for the Atheism that is received by many here, is the dullest and coarsest thing that can be imagined. The young nobility are so generally corrupted in their morals, and so given up to a most supine ignorance of all sorts of knowledge, that a man cannot easily imagine to what a height this is grown; and for

for military courage, there is scarce so much as the ambition of being thought brave remaining among the greater part of them. It seemed to me a strange thing, to see the *broglia* so full of graceful young senators and nobles, when there was so glorious a war on foot with the Turks; but instead of being heated in point of honour to hazard their lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of folly for them to go and hazard them, when a little money can hire strangers that do it on such easy terms: and thus their arms are in the hands of strangers, while they stay at home managing their intrigues in the *broglia*, and dissolving their spirits among their courtezans. And the reputation of their service is of late years so much sunk, that it is very strange to see so many come to a service so decried, where there is so little care had of the soldiers, and so little regard had to the officers. The arrears are so slowly paid, and the rewards are so scantily distributed, that if they do not change their maxims, they may come to feel this very sensibly; for as their subjects are not acquainted with warlike matters, so their nobility have no sort of ambition that way; and strangers are extremely disgusted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of affairs that they owe their safety; for the feebleness of all their neighbours, the Turk, the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Pope, and the Duke of Mantua, preserves them from the apprehension of an invasion, and the quarrels and degeneracy of their subjects save them from the fears of a revolt; but a formidable neighbour would put them hard to it. One great occasion of the degeneracy of the Italians, and in particular of the Venetian nobility, is a maxim that hath been taken up for some considerable time, *That for the preservation of their families, it is fit that only one of a family should marry.* To which I will not add, that it is generally believed,

lieved, that the wife is in common to the whole family. By this means the younger brothers, that have appointments for life, and that have no families that come from them, are not stirred up by any ambition to signalize themselves, or to make families, and so they give way to all the laziness of luxury, and are quite enervated by it: whereas the best services done in other states, flow from the necessities, as well as the aspirings of younger brothers, or their families; whose blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their pride and necessities push them on to acquire, first a reputation, and then a fortune. But all this is a mystery to the Venetians; who apprehend so much from the active spirits of a necessitous nobility, that, to lay those asleep, they encourage them in all those things that may blunt and depress their minds: and youth naturally hates letters as much as it loves pleasure, when it is so far from being restrained, that it is rather pushed on to all the licentiousness of unlimited disorders.

Yet I must add one thing, that though Venice is the place in the whole world where pleasure is most studied, and where the youth have both the greatest wealth, and the most leisure to pursue it; yet it is the place that I ever saw, where true and innocent pleasure is the least understood. In which I will make a little digression, that perhaps will not be unpleasant. As for the pleasures of friendship, or marriage, they are strangers to them; for the horrible distrust, in which they all live, of one another, makes that it is very rare to find a friend in Italy, but most of all in Venice. And though we have been told of several stories of celebrated friendships there, yet these are now very rare. As for their wives, they are bred to so much ignorance, and they converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull superstition on holidays; in which they stay in the churches as long as they can,

can, and so prolong the little liberty they have of going abroad on those days, as children do their hours of play. They are not employed in their domestic affairs, and generally they understand no sort of work ; so that I was told, they were the insipidest creatures imaginable. They are perhaps as vicious as in other places ; but it is among them downright lewdness ; for they are not drawn into it by the intanglements of amour, that inveigle and lead many persons much farther than they imagined or intended at first ; but in them the first step, without any preamble or preparative, is downright beastliness. And an Italian, that knew the world well, said upon this matter a very lively thing to me. He said, *Their jealousy made them restrain their daughters and their wives so much, that they could have none of those domestic entertainments of wit, conversation, and friendship, that the French or English have at home.* It is true, those, he said, hazard a little the honour of their families by that liberty ; but the Italians, by their excessive caution, made that they had none of the true delights of a married state : and notwithstanding all their uneasy jealousy, they were still in danger of a contraband nobility. Therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain satisfaction, than to watch so anxiously, and thereby have an insipid companion, instead of a lively friend, though she might perhaps have some ill moments. As for their houses, they have nothing convenient at Venice ; for the architecture is almost all the same, one stair-case, a hall that runs along the body of the house, and chambers on both hands ; but there are no apartments, no closets, or back-stairs : so that in houses that are of an excessive wealth, they have yet no sort of convenience. Their bedsteads are of iron, because of the vermin that their moisture produ-

ces. The bottoms are of boards; upon which they lay so many quilts, that it is a huge step to get up to them. Their great chairs are all upright, without a slope in the back, hard in the bottom, and the wood of the arms is not covered. They mix water with their wine in their hogsheds; so that, for above half the year, the wine is either dead or sour. They do not leaven their bread, so that it is extreme heavy; and the oven is too much heated, so that the crumb is as dough, when the crust is as hard as a stone. In all inns they boil meat first before it is roasted; and thus as indeed they make it tender, so it is quite tasteless and insipid. And as for their land-carriage, all Lombardy over it is extreme inconvenient; for their coaches are fastened to the pearch, which makes them as uneasy as a cart. It is true, they begin to have at Rome and Naples, coaches that are fastened to a sort of double pearch, that runs along the bottom of the coach on both sides; which are so thin, that they ply to the motion of the coach, and are extreme easy: but those are not known in Lombardy. And besides this, their calashes are open; so that one is exposed to the sun and dust in summer, and to the weather in winter. But though they are covered as ours are on the other side of the Apennines, yet I saw none that were covered in Lombardy. And thus, by an enumeration of many of the innocent pleasures and conveniencies of life, it appears, that the Venetians pursue so violently forbidden pleasures, that they know not how to find out that which is allowable. Their constant practices in the *broglio* are their chief business; where those that are necessitous are suing for employments of advantage, and those that are full of wealth take a sort of pleasure in crossing their pretensions, and in imbroiling matters. The walk in which the nobility tread, is left to them,

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for no others dare walk among them; and they change the side of the square of St Mark, as the sun and the weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that Mr Patin gave me of *broglio*, from the Greek *peribolaion*, a little corrupted, is not forced. And since they make all their parties, and manage all their intrigues in those walks, I am apt to think that *broils*, *brouillons*, and *imbroilments*, are all derived from the agitations that are managed in those walks.

As for the last created nobility of Venice, I came to know some particulars that I have not yet seen in any books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the Venetians could have foreseen, at the beginning of the war of Candy, the vast expence in which the length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the isle, rather than have wasted their treasure, and debased their nobility. This last was extreme sensible to them: for as the dignity of the rank they hold is so much the more eminent, as it is restrained to a small number; so all the best employments and honours of the state belonging to this body, the admitting such a number into it, as must rise out of seventy-eight families, was, in effect, the sharing their inheritance among so many adopted brothers. This had been less infamous, if they had communicated that honour only to the ancient citizens of Venice, or to the nobility of those states that they have subdued in the terra firma: for as there are many citizens, who are as ancient as the nobility, only their ancestors not happening to be of that council that assumed the government about four hundred years ago, they have not been raised to that honour; so there had been no infamy in creating some of them to be of the nobility. It had been also brought under consultation long ago, upon the reduction of those

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states in the terra firma, whether it was not advisable, according to the maxims of the ancient Romans, to communicate that dignity to some of their chief families, as being the surest way to give some contentment to those states, it being also a real as well as a cheap security, when the chief families in those cities were admitted to a share in all the honours of the republic. It is true, some of the nobility of those states thought they had honour enough by their birth; and so Zambara of Brescia refused to accept an honour from those that had robbed his country of its liberty: yet his posterity are now of another mind; for they came, and bought, in this last sale of honour, that which was freely offered to their ancestor, and was rejected by him. When the senate found itself extremely pressed for money during the war, it was at first proposed, that some families, to the number of five, might be ennobled, they offering sixty thousand ducats if they were Venetians, and seventy thousand if they were strangers. There was but one person that opposed this in the senate; so it being passed there, was presented to the great council: and there it was like to have passed without any difficulty: but one person opposed it with so much vigour, that though the Duke desired him to give over his opposition, since the necessities of the war required a great supply, yet he persisted still; and though one of the *Savii* set forth with tears the extremities to which the state was reduced, he still insisted, and fell upon one conceit that turned the whole council. He said, they were not sure, if five persons could be found, that would purchase that honour at such a rate, and then it would be a vast disgrace to expose the offer of nobility, first to sale, and then to the affront of finding no buyers when it was offered to be sold: and by this means he put by the resolution for that time. But then
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another method was taken, that was more honourable, and was of a more extended consequence. Labia was the first that presented a petition to the great council, setting forth his merits towards the republic, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand ducats toward the service of the state. This was understood to be asking to be made noble at that price. Delfino said, he thought every man might be well judged worthy to offer such an assistance to the public; and that such as brought that supply might expect a suitable acknowledgment from the senate, who might afterwards, of their own accord, bestow that honour on those that expressed so much zeal for the public; and this would, in some sort, maintain that degree, which would be too much debased, if it were thus bought and sold. But it seems the purchasers had no mind to part with their money, and to leave the reward to the gratitude of the council; so the petition was granted in plain terms, and the nobility so acquired was not only to descend to the children of him that was ennobled, but to his brothers, and the whole family, to such a degree. After Labia, a great many more came with the like petitions; and it was not unpleasant to see in what terms merchants, that came to buy this honour, set forth their own merits; which were, that they had taken care to furnish the republic with such things as were necessary for its preservation. There was a sort of a *triumvirate* formed, of a Jew, a Greek, and an Italian, who were the brokers, and found out the merchants; and at last brought down the price from a hundred thousand to sixty thousand ducats; and no other qualifications were required, if they had money enough. For when Corregge said to the Duke, that he was afraid to ask that honour for want of merit, the Duke asked him, *If he had a hundred thousand*

ducats ? and when the other answered, *The sum was ready*, the Duke told him, *That was a great merit*. At last seventy-eight purchased this honour, to the great regret of Labia ; who said, that if he had imagined, that so many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid so high for it, that it should have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the purchasers were ancient and noble families ; but many others were not only merchants, but of the lowest sort of them ; who, as they had enriched themselves by trade, did then impoverish themselves by the acquisition of an honour, that as it obliged them to give over their trade, and put them in a higher way of living, so it hath not brought them yet in any advantage to balance that loss ; for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded, when they compete with the ancient nobility : though this is done with that discretion, that the old families do not declare always against the new ; for that would throw the new into a faction against them, which might be a great prejudice to them ; for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great prejudice that the republic feels by this great promotion, is, that the chief families of the citizens of Venice, who had been long practised in the affairs of state, and out of whom the envoys, the secretaries of state, and the Chancellor, that is the head of the citizens, as well as the Duke is the head of the nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief honour of the state, there is not now a sufficient number of capable citizens left for serving the state in those employments. But this defect will be redressed with the help of a little time. But if this increase of the nobility hath lessened the dignity of the ancient families, there is a regulation made in this age, that still preserves a considerable distinction of authority

thority in their hands: Crimes against the state, when committed by any of the nobility, were always judged by the inquisitors, and the council of ten; but all other crimes were judged by the council of forty. But, in the year 1624, one of the nobles was accused of *peculat* committed in one of their governments; and the *avogadore*, in the pleading, as he set forth his crime, called him a *rogue* and a *robber*. Yet though his crimes were manifest, there being but six and twenty judges present, twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him. This gave great offence; for though he was acquitted by his judges, his crimes were evident, so that his fame could not be restored; for the depositions of the witnesses, and the *avogadore's* (or the *attorney-general's*) charge, were heard by the people. So it was proposed to make a difference between the nobility and the other subjects; and since all trials before the forty were public, and the trials before the ten in secret, it seemed fit to remit the nobility to be tried by the ten. Some foresaw that this would tend to a tyranny, and raise the dignity of the ancient families (of whom the council of ten is always composed) too high; therefore they opposed it upon this ground, that since the council of forty sent out many orders to the governors, it would very much lessen their authority, if they were not to be the judges of those who were obliged to receive their orders. But, to qualify this opposition, a proviso was made, that reserved to the council of forty a power to judge of the obedience that was given to their orders; but all other accusations of the nobility were remitted to the council of ten. And the body of the nobility were so pleased with this distinction that was put between them and the other subjects, that they did not see that this did really enslave them so much the more, and brought them under more danger;

danger; since those who judge in secret have a freer scope to their passions, than those whose proceedings are public, and so are, in effect, judged by the public; which is often a very effectual restraint upon the judges themselves. But the council of ten being generally in the hands of the great families; whereas those of all sorts are of the council of forty, which was the chief judicature of the state, and is much ancients than that of ten; it had been much more wisely done of them, to have been still judged by the forty. And if they had thought it for their honour to have a difference made in the way of judging the nobility and the other subjects, it had been more for their security to have brought their trials to this, that whereas the forty judge all other offenders with open doors, the nobility should be judged, the doors being shut; which is a thing they very much desire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it. For this power of judging the nobility is now considered as the right of the ten; and if any man would go about to change it, the inquisitors would be perhaps very quick with him as a mover of sedition; and be, in that case, both judge and party. Yet the inquisitors, being apprehensive of the distaste that this might breed in the body of the nobility, have made a sort of regulation, though it doth not amount to much; which is, that the nobility should be judged before the council of ten for atrocious cases; such as, matters of state, robbing the public, and other enormous crimes; but that for all other matters they are to be judged by the forty: yet the council of ten draws all cases before them, and none dare dispute with them.

But this leads me to say a little to you of that part of this constitution which is so much censured by strangers, but is really both the greatest glory, and the chief security of this republic; which is,

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The unlimited power of the inquisitors, that extends not only to the chief of the nobility, but to the Duke himself; who is so subject to them, that they may not only give him severe reprimands, but search his papers, make his process, and, in conclusion, put him to death, without being bound to give an account of their proceedings, except to the council of ten. This is the dread, not only of all the subjects, but of the whole nobility, and of all that bear office in the republic, and makes the greatest among them tremble, and so obliges them to an exact conduct. But though it is not to be denied, that, upon some occasions, they may have been a little too sudden, particularly in the known story of Foscarini; yet such unjustifiable severities have occurred so seldom, that as the wisdom of this body in making and preserving such an institution, cannot be enough admired; so the dexterous conduct of those who manage this vast trust, so as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewise highly to be wondered at. In short, the insolence, the factions, the revenges, the necessities and ambition, that must needs possess a great many members of so vast a body, as is the nobility of Venice, must have thrown them often into many fatal convulsions, if it were not for the dread in which they all stand of this court, which hath so many spies abroad, chiefly among the Gondaliers, who cannot fail to discover all the secret commerce of Venice: besides the secret advices that are thrown in at so many of those lions mouths, that are in several places of St Mark's palace, within which there are boxes that are under the keys of the inquisitors; so that it is scarce possible for a man to be long in any design against the state, and not to be discovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are so inexorable, and so quick, as well as severe in their justice, that
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the very fear of this is so effectual a restraint, that perhaps the long preservation of Venice, and of its liberty, is owing to this single piece of their constitution. And the inquisitors are persons generally so distinguished for their merit, who must be all of different families, and their authority lasts so short a while, that the advantages of this vast authority that is lodged with them are constant and visible; whereas the unhappy instances of their being imposed on, and carrying their suspicions too far, are so few, that whenever the nobility grows weary of this yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the glory and prosperity of Venice at an end. It was terribly attacked not long ago by Cornaro, when Jerom Cornaro was put to death for his correspondence with Spain. He was not near a-kin to the great family of that name; yet the family thought their honour was so much touched, when one of its remotest branches was condemned of treason, that they offered a hundred thousand crowns to have saved him, and by consequence to have preserved the family from that infamy. But though this was not accepted, (for he suffered as he well deserved), yet it was so visible, that none of the family were concerned in his crimes, that it did not at all turn to their prejudice. But upon the first occasion that offered itself after that to quarrel with the proceedings of the inquisitors, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the matter extremely, and moved for the limiting of their authority. But the great council was wiser than to touch so sacred a part of the government; so they retain their power very entire, but they manage it with all possible caution. A foreigner, that hath been many years in their service, told me, that the stories with which strangers were frightened at the arbitrary power that was vested in those inquisitors, were slight things in comparison of the

the advantages that they found from it ; and, after eleven years spent in their service, he said, he never was so much as once sent for to receive a reprimand from them. And if the nobility, that have any commerce with strangers, confess it sincerely to the inquisitors, they are in no danger by it ; but if they conceal it, or any main circumstances of it, their process will be soon dispatched. These are the most remarkable things that I could pick up during my stay at Venice. I have avoided to say any thing relating to their several councils, officers, and judicatures, or to the other parts of their government which are to be found in all books ; and the forms by which they give their votes by ballot, are so well known, that it were an abusing of your time to enlarge myself concerning them. Nor was I sufficiently informed concerning the particulars of the sale of nobility that is now on foot since this last war with the Turks, which hath made them willing to take up once again this easy way of raising money. Nor could I give credit to that of which a person of great eminence there assured me, that there was a *poisoner-general* in Venice, that had a salary, and was employed by the inquisitors to dispatch those against whom a public proceeding would make too great a noise. This I could not believe, though my author protested, that the brother of one that was solicited to accept of the employment discovered it to him. There is no place in the world where strangers live with more freedom ; and I was amazed to see so little exactness among the searchers of the customhouse : for though we had a mule's load of trunks and portmanteaus, yet none offered to ask us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us ? But the best and noblest entertainment that Venice afforded while I was there, was the company of Mr de la Haye, the French Ambassador ; who, as he hath

hath spent his whole life in public embassies, so he hath acquired so great a knowledge of the world, with so true a judgment, and so obliging a civility, that he may well pass for a pattern: and it is no wonder to see him still engaged in a constant succession of public employments. And his lady is so wonderful a person, that I pay them both but a very small part of what I owe them in this acknowledgment which I judge myself bound to make of their extraordinary civilities to me; and indeed, without the advantage of such a rendezvous as I had there, a fortnight's stay at Venice had been a very tedious matter.

From Venice we went again to Padua, from thence to Rovigo, which is but a small town, and so to the Po, which divides the territory of the republic from the Ferrarese, which is now the Pope's country. And here one sees what a difference a good and a bad government makes in a country: for though the soil is the same on both sides of the river, and the Ferrarese was once one of the beautifullest spots of all Italy, as Ferrara was one of its best towns, while they had princes of their own, who, for a course of some ages, were princes of such eminent virtue, and of so heroical a nobleness, that they were really the fathers of their country; nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The soil is abandoned, and uncultivated; nor were there hands enough so much as to mow their grass, which we saw withering in their meadows, to our no small wonder. We were amazed to see so rich a soil thus forsaken of its inhabitants; and much more when we passed through that vast town, which, by its extent, shews what it was about an age ago, and is now so much deserted, that there are whole sides of streets without inhabitants. And the poverty of the place appears signally in the churches, which are mean,
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and poorly adorned : for the superstition of Italy is so ravenous, and makes such a progress in this age, that one may justly take the measures of the wealth of any place from the churches. The superstition or vanity of this age is so much beyond that of the past, (though the contrary to this is commonly believed), that all the vast buildings of great churches, or rich convents, and the surprising wealth that appears in them on festival days, are the donatives of the present age. So that it is a vulgar error that some have taken up, who fancy, that *superstition is at a stand, if not in a decay*; unless it be acknowledged, that the craft of the priests hath opened to them a new method to support their riches, when the old ones of purgatory and indulgences were become less effectual, in an age of more knowledge, and better enlightened; and that is, to engage men to an emulation and a vanity in enriching their churches, as much as other Italians have in the enriching their palaces. So that, as they have a pleasure as well as a vanity, in seeing so much dead wealth in their houses, they have translated the same humour to their churches; and the vanity of the present age, that believes little or nothing of those contrivances of purgatory, or the like, produceth the same, if not greater effects, in the building and enriching their churches, and so carries it in expence and prodigality from the superstition of the former ages that believed every thing. But to return to Ferrara. I could not but ask all I saw, how it came that so rich a soil was so strangely abandoned? Some said, the air was become so unhealthy, that those who stay in it were very short-lived. But it is well known, that fourscore years ago it was well peopled; and the ill air is occasioned by the want of inhabitants; for there not being people to drain the ground, and to keep the ditches clean, this makes

that there is a great deal of water that lies on the ground, and rots ; which infects the air in the same manner, as is observed in that vast and rich, but uninhabited champaign of Rome. So that the ill air is the effect, rather than the cause of the dispeopling of the Pope's dominions. The true cause is the severity of the government, and the heavy taxes, and frequent confiscations ; by which the nephews of several Popes, as they have devoured many of the families of Ferrara, so they have driven away many more. And this appears more visibly, by the different state as well as constitution of Bologna, which is full of people that abound in wealth ; and as the soil is extreme rich, so it is cultivated with all due care. For Bologna delivered itself to the popedom upon a capitulation, by which there are many privileges reserved to it. Crimes there are only punished in the persons of those who commit them ; but there are no confiscations of estates : and though the authority in criminal matters belongs to the Pope, and is managed by a legate and his officers ; yet the civil government, the magistracy, and the power of judicature in civil matters, is entirely in the hands of the state. And by this regulation it is, that as the riches of Bologna amaze a stranger, it neither being on a navigable river, by which it is not capable of much trade, nor being the centre of a sovereignty, where a court is kept ; so the taxes that the Popes fetch from thence are so considerable, that he draws much more from this place of liberty, than from those where his authority is unlimited and absolute, but that are by those means almost quite abandoned : for the greatness of a prince or state rising from the numbers of the subjects, those maxims that retain the subjects, and that draw strangers to come among them, are certainly the truest maxims for advancing the greatness of the

the master. And I could not but with much scorn observe the folly of some Frenchmen, who made use of this argument to shew the greatness of their nation, that one found many Frenchmen in all places to which one could come; whereas there were no English nor Dutch, no Switzers, and very few Germans. But this is just contrary to the right consequence that ought to be drawn from this observation; for it is certain, that few leave their country, and go to settle elsewhere, if they are not pressed with so much uneasiness at home, that they cannot well live among their friends and kindred: so that a mild government drives out no swarms; whereas it is the sure mark of a severe government that weakens itself, when many of the subjects find it so hard to subsist at home, that they are forced to seek that abroad which they would much rather do in their own country, if impositions and other severities did not force them to change their habitations.

But to return to the wealth of *Bolagna*, it appears in every corner of the town, and all round it, though its situation is not very favourable; for it lies at the foot of the *Appennines*, on the north side, and is extreme cold in winter. The houses are built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, so that one walks all the town over covered under piazzas; but the walks here are both higher and larger than any where else. There are many noble palaces all over the town, and the churches and convents are incredibly rich. Within the town the richest are the *Dominicans*, which is the chief house of the order, where their founder's body is laid in one of the best chapels of Italy; and next to them are the *Franciscans*, the *Servites*, the *Jesuits*, and the canons regular of *St Salvator*. In this last there is a scroll of the *Hebrew Bible*, which, though it is not the tenth part of the Bible, they fancy to be the

whole Bible : and they were made believe by some Jew, that hath, no doubt, sold it at a high rate, that it was written by Ezra's own hand ; and this hath passed long for current. But the manuscript is only a fine copy, like those that the Jews use in their synagogues, that may be perhaps three or four hundred years old. That part of it on which I cast my eye, was the book of Esther : so by the bulk of the scroll, I judged it to be the collection of those small books of the Old Testament that the Jews set after the law. But those of the house fancy they have a great treasure in it ; and perhaps such Jews as have seen it, are willing to laugh at their ignorance, and so suffer them to go on in their error. The chief church of the town is St Petrone's, and there one sees the curious and exact meridional line, which that rare astronomer Cassini laid along a great part of the pavement in a brass circle. It marks the true point of mid-day from June to January, and is one of the best performances that perhaps the world ever saw. In the great square before the church, on the one side of which is the legate's palace, among other statues, one surprised me much ; it was Pope Joan's, which is so named by the people of the town. It is true, the learned men say, it is the statue of Pope Nicholas IV. who had indeed a youthly and womanish face. But as I looked at this statue very attentively, through a little perspective that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the face of a young woman ; and was very unlike that of Pope Nicholas IV. which is in St Maria Maggiore at Rome : for the statue of that Pope, though it hath no beard, yet hath an age in it that is very much different from the statue at Bologna. I do not build any thing on this statue, for I do not believe that story at all ; and I myself saw in England a manuscript of Martinus Polonus, who is one of the
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ancient authors of this matter, which did not seem to be written long after the author's time ; in it this story is not in the text, but is added on the margin by another hand.

On the hill above Bologna stands the monastery of St Michael in bosco, which hath a most charming situation and prospect, and is one of the best monasteries in Italy. It hath many courts, and one that is cloistered, and is octangular ; which is so nobly painted in fresco, that it is great pity to see such work exposed to the air. All was retouched by the famous Guido Reni ; yet it is now again much decayed. The dormitory is very magnificent ; the chapel is little, but very fine ; and the stalls are richly carved. On the other side of Bologna, in the bottom, the Carthusians have also a very rich monastery. Four miles from Bologna there is a Madona of St Luke's ; and because many go thither in great devotion, there is a portico building, which is already carried on almost half way. It is walled towards the north, but stands on pillars to the south, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high. It is carried on very vigorously ; for in eight or ten years the half is built ; so that in a little time the whole will very probably be finished : and this may prove the beginning of many such like porticos in Italy ; for things of this kind want only a beginning ; and when they are once set on foot, they quickly spread themselves in a country that is so entirely subdued by superstition, and the artifices of their priests. In Bologna they reckon there are seventy thousand persons. I saw not one of the chief glories of this place ; for the famous Malpighius was out of town while I was there. I saw a play there ; but the poesy was so bad, the farces so rude, and all was so ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to see the company express so great a satisfaction in that which would

have been hissed off the stage either in England or France. From Bologna we go eight miles in a plain, and then we engage into that range of hills that carry the name of *Appennines*; though that is strictly given only to one that is the highest. All the way to Florence this track of hills continues, though there are several bottoms, and some considerable little towns in them; but all is up-hill and down-hill; and Florence itself is just at the bottom of the last hill. The highways all along these hills are kept in so very good case, that in few of the best-inhabited countries doth one find the highways so well maintained as in these forsaken mountains; but this is so great a passage, that all that are concerned in it find their account in the expence they lay out upon it. On the last of these hills, though in a little bottom, in the midst of the hill, stands Pratolino, one of the Great Duke's palaces, where the retreat in summer must be very agreeable, for the air of those mountains is extreme thin and pure. The gardens in Italy are made at a great cost; the statues and fountains are very rich and noble, the grounds are well laid out, and the walks are long and even: but as they have no gravel to give them those firm and beautiful walks that we have in England, so the constant greenness of the box doth so much please them, that they preferring the sight to the smell, have their gardens so high-scented by plots made with them, that there is no pleasure to walk in them. They also lay their walks so between hedges, that one is much confined in them. I saw first in a garden at Vincenza, that which I found afterwards in many gardens in Italy, which was extreme convenient. There went a course of water round the walls. About a foot from the ground, is a channel of stone, that went along the side of the wall; and in this there were holes so made,

made, that a pipe of white iron or wood put to them, conveyed the water to such plants as in a dry season wanted watering; and a cock set the water a running in this course; so that without the trouble of carrying water, one person could easily manage the watering of a great garden. Florence is a beautiful and noble town, full of great palaces, rich churches, and stately convents. The streets are paved, in imitation of the old Roman highways, with great stone, bigger than our common pavement-stone, but much thicker; which are so hollowed in their joinings to one another, that horses find fastening enough to their feet. There are many statues and fountains in the streets, so that in every corner one meets with many agreeable objects. I will not entertain you with a description of the Great Duke's palace and gardens, or of the old palace, and the gallery that joins to it, and of the vast collection of pictures, statues, cabinets, and other curiosities, that must needs amaze every one that sees them. The plate, and in particular the gold plate, and the great coach, are all such extraordinary things, that they would require a very copious description, if that had not been done so often, that it were to very little purpose to copy what others have said: and these things are so exactly seen by every traveller, that I can say nothing that is more particular of these subjects than you will find in the common itineraries of travellers. The great dome is a magnificent building; but the frontispiece to the great gate is not yet made. The *cupola* is, after St Peter's, the greatest and highest that I saw in Italy. It is three hundred foot high, and of a vast compass; and the whole architecture of this fabric is very singular, as well as regular: only that which was intended to add to its beauty, lessened it very much in my thoughts; for the walls, that are all of
marble.

marble, being of white and black marble, laid in different figures and orders, looked too like a livery, and had not that air of nobleness which in my opinion becomes so glorious a fabric. The baptistery, that stands before it, was a noble Hea-then temple. Its gates of brass are the best of that sort that are in the world. There are so many histories so well represented in *bas reliefs*, in them, with so much exactness, the work is so natural, and yet so fine, that a curious man could find entertainment for many days, if he would examine the three gates of this temple with a critical exactness. The Annunciata, St Mark's, St Croce, and St Maria Novella, are churches of great beauty and vast riches; but the church and chapel of St Laurence exceeds them all, as much in the riches within, as it is inferior to them in the outside; which is quite flayed, if I may so speak, but on design to give it a rich outside of marble. In a chapel within this church, the bodies of the Great Dukes lie deposited, till the famous chapel is finished. But I was much scandalized to see statues with nudities here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in churches. I will not offer at a description of the glorious chapel; which as it is without doubt the richest piece of building that perhaps the world ever saw; so it goes on so slowly, that though there are many always at work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the number of hands that are employed in it. Among the statues that are to be in it, there is one of the virgin, made by Michael Angelo, which represents her grief at the passion of her blessed Son, that hath the most life in it of all the statues that I ever saw. But the famous library that belongs to this convent, took up more of my time than all the other curiosities of Florence; for here is a collection of many manuscripts, most of them Greek, that were gathered together

together by Pope Clement VII. and given to his country. There are very few printed books mixed with them ; and those books that are there, are so rare, that they are almost as curious as manuscripts. I saw some of Virgil's poems in old capitals. There is a manuscript in which some parts both of Tacitus and Apuleius are written ; and in one place, one in a different hand had writ, that he had compared those manuscripts ; and he adds a date to this in Olibrius's time, which is about twelve hundred years ago. I found some diphthongs in it cast into one letter ; which surprised me ; for I thought that way of writing had not been so ancient. But that which pleased me most was, that the library-keeper assured me, that one had lately found the famous epistle of St Chrysostom to Cæsarius in Greek, in the end of a volume full of other things, and not among the manuscripts of that father's books, of which they have a great many. He thought he remembered well the place where the book stood ; so we turned over all the books that stood near it, but I found it not. He promised to look it out for me, if I came back that way ; but I changing my design, and going back another way, could not see the bottom of this. It is true, the famous Magliabecchi, who is the Great Duke's library-keeper, and is a person of most wonderful civility, and full of candour, as well as he is learned beyond imagination, assured me, that this could be no other than a mistake of the library-keeper's. He said, such a discovery could not have been made without making so much noise that he must have heard of it. He added, there was not one man in Florence that either understood Greek, or that examined manuscripts ; so that, he assured me, I could not build on what an ignorant-library-keeper had told me ; so I set down this matter as I found it, without building much on it. Florence

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is much sunk from what it was, for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thousand souls in it; and the other states, that were once great republics, such as Siena and Pisa, while they retained their liberty, are now shrunk almost into nothing. It is certain, that all three together are now not so numerous as any one of them was two hundred years ago. Leghorn is full of people, and all round Florence there are a great many villages: but as one goes over Tuscany, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a country that hath been a scene of so much action, and so many wars, now so forsaken and so poor, and that in many places the soil is quite neglected for want of hands to cultivate it; and in other places where there are more people, they look so poor, and their houses are such miserable ruins, that it is scarce accountable how there should be so much poverty in so rich a country, which is all over full of beggars. And here the style of begging was a little altered from what I found it in Lombardy; for whereas there they begged for the sake of St Anthony, here all begged for the souls that were in purgatory; and this was the style in all the other parts of Italy through which I passed. In short, the dispeopling of Tuscany, and most of the principalities of Italy, but chiefly of the Pope's dominions, which are more abandoned than any other part of Italy, seemed to flow from nothing but the severity of the government, and the great decay of trade; for the greatest trade of Italy being in silk, the vast importation of silks that the East-India companies bring into Europe hath quite ruined all those that deal in this manufacture. Yet this is not the chief cause of the dispeopling of those rich countries. The severity of the taxes is the true reason. Notwithstanding all that decay of trade, the taxes are still kept up. Beside this, the
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vast wealth of the convents, where the only people of Italy are to be found, that live not only at their ease, but in great plenty and luxury, makes many forsake all sort of industry, and seek for a retreat in one of those seats of pleasure; so that the people do not increase fast enough to make a new race to come instead of those whom a hard government drives away. It must needs surprise an inattentive traveller, to see not only the Venetian territory, which is indeed a rich country, but the bailiages of the Switzers, and the coast of Genoa, so full of people, when Tuscany, the patrimony, and the kingdom of Naples, have so few inhabitants. In the coast of Genoa there is for many miles, as it were, a constant tract of towns and villages; and all those are well peopled, though they have scarce any soil at all, lying under the mountains, that are very barren, and that expose them to a most uneasy sun; and that they lie upon a boisterous sea, that is almost always in a storm, and that affords very few fish; and yet the gentleness of the government draws such multitudes thither, and those are so full of wealth, that money goes at 2 *per cent*. But, on the other hand, to balance this a little, so strange and wild a thing is the nature of man, at least of Italians, that I was told the worst people of all Italy are the Genoese, and the most generally corrupted in their morals, as to all sorts of vice: so that though a severe government and slavery are contrary to the nature of man, and to human society, to justice and equity, and to that essential equality that nature hath made among men; yet, on the other hand, all men cannot bear that ease and liberty that become the human nature. The superstition of Italy, and the great waste of wealth that one sees in their churches, particularly those prodigious masses of plate with which their altars are covered

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on holidays, doth also sink their trade extremely; for silver being in commerce what blood is in the body, when so much of that is dead, and circulates no more, it is no wonder if such an extravasation (if I may use so long and so hard a word) of silver occasions a great deadness in trade. I had almost forgot one remark that I made on the last hill of the Appennines, just above Florence, that I never saw such tall and big cypresses any where, as grew all over that hill; which seemed a little strange, that tree being apt to be starved by a cold winter among us; and there the winters are severe. All the ways in Tuscany are very rugged, except on the sides of the Arne. But the uneasiness of the road is much qualified by the great care that is had of the highways, which are all in very good case. The inns are wretched, and ill furnished both for lodging and diet. This is the plague of all Italy, when once one has passed the Apennines; for, except in the great towns, one really suffers so much that way, that the pleasure of travelling is much abated by the inconveniences that one meets in every stage through which he passes. I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

Florence, Nov. 5. 1685.

L E T T E R IV.

I AM now in the last stage of my voyage over Italy: for since my last from Florence, I have not only got to Rome, but have been in Naples; and have now satisfied my curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this place within a day or two, and go to Civita Vecchia, and from thence by sea to
Marseilles,

Marseilles, and so avoid an unpleasant winter's journey over the Alps. It is true, I lose the sight of Turin, Genoa, and some other courts. But though I am told these deserve well the pains of the journey; yet when one rises from a great meal, no delicacies, how much soever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his appetite. So I confess freely, that the sight of Naples and Rome have so set my stomach that way, that the curiosity of seeing new places is now very low with me. And indeed those that I have of late seen are such, that places which at another time would please me much, would now make but a slight and cold impression.

All the way from Florence through the Great Duke's country looked so sad, that I concluded it must be the most dispeopled of all Italy. But indeed I changed my note when I came into the Pope's territories at Pont Centino, where there was a rich bottom all uncultivated, and not so much as stocked with cattle. But as I passed from Mont Fiascone to Viterbo, this appeared yet more amazing; for a vast champain country lay almost quite deserted; and that wide town, which is of so great a compass, hath yet so few inhabitants, and those look so poor and miserable, that the people in the ordinary towns of Scotland, and in its worst places, make a better appearance. When I was within a day's journey of Rome, I fancied that the neighbourhood of so great a city must mend the matter. But I was much disappointed; for a soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly, that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw out of Italy, had neither inhabitants in it, nor cattle upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear. The surprise that this gave me, increased upon me as I went out of Rome on its other side, chiefly all the way to Naples, and on the way to Civita Vecchia: for

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that vast and rich champaign country that runs all along to Terracina, which from Civita Vecchia is above a hundred miles long, and is in many places twelve or twenty miles broad, is abandoned to such a degree, that as far as one's eye can carry one, there is often not so much as a house to be seen, but on the hills that are on the north side of this valley. And by this dispeopling of the country, the air is now become so unwholsome, that it is not safe to be a night in it all the summer long : for the water that lies upon many places not being drained, it rots ; and in the summer this produces so many noisome steams, that it is felt even in Rome itself ; and if it were not for the breezes that come from the mountains, the air would be intolerable. When one sees all this large, but waste country, from the hill of Marino, twelve miles beyond Rome, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word, it is the rigour of the government that hath driven away the inhabitants : and their being driven away, hath now reduced it to such a pass, that it is hardly possible to repeople it ; for such as would come to drain and cultivate it must run a great hazard ; and few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no other reward of their industry, but an uneasy government. It is the greatest solecism in government, for the prince to be elective, and yet absolute : for an hereditary prince is induced to consider his posterity, and to maintain his people so, that those that come after him may still support the rank which they hold in the world. But an elective prince hath nothing of that in his eye, unless he hath a pitch of generosity which is not ordinary among men, and least of all among Italians, who have a passion for their families which is not known in other places. And thus a Pope, who comes in late to this dignity, which by consequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally

naturally turn to those counsels, by which his family may make all the hay they can during this sunshine. And though anciently the Cardinals were a check upon the Pope, and a sort of a council, without whom he could do nothing even in temporals; yet now they have quite lost that; and they have no other share in affairs than that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them; so that he is the most absolute prince in Europe. It is true, as to spirituals they retain still a large share; so that in censures and definitions the Pope can do nothing regularly without their concurrence; though it is certain, that they have not so good a title to pretend to that, as to a share in the temporal principality: for if the Pope derives any thing from St Peter, all *that* is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he thinks best; since the infallibility, according to their pretensions, rests singly in him. Yet because there was not so much to be got by acting arbitrarily in those matters, and a summary way of exercising this authority might have tempted the world to have inquired too much into the grounds on which it is built; therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain still a share in this supremacy over the church, though they have no claim to it, neither by any divine or ecclesiastical warrants. But as for the endowments of the see of Rome, to which they may justly lay claim, as being in a manner the chapter of that see; there is so much to be got by this, that the Popes have ingrossed it wholly to themselves. And thus it is, that the government of this principality is very unsteady. Sometimes the Pope's family are extremely glorious and magnificent; at other times they think of nothing but of establishing their house. Sometimes the Pope is a man of sense himself; sometimes he is quite sunk, and, as the last Pope was, becomes a child

again through old age. Sometimes he hath a particular stiffness of temper, with a great slowness of understanding, and an insatiable desire of heaping up wealth; which is the character of him that now reigns. By this diversity, which appears eminently in every new pontificate, that commonly avoids those excesses that made the former reign odious, the counsels of the popedom are weak and disjointed. But if this is sensible to all Europe, with relation to the general concerns of that body, it is much more visible in the principality itself, that is subject to so variable a head. There hath been in this age a succession of four ravenous reigns: and though there was a short interruption in the reign of the Rospigliosi, that coming after the Barberini, the Pamphili, and the Ghigis, did not enrich itself; and yet it disordered the revenue by the vast magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty-nine months time, than any other had done in so many years. The Altieri did in a most scandalous manner raise themselves in a very short and despised reign, and built one of the noblest palaces in Rome. He that reigns now doth not indeed raise his family avowedly, but he doth not ease the people of their taxes: and as there is no magnificence in his court, nor any public buildings now carrying on at Rome, so the many vacant caps occasion many empty palaces. And by this means there is so little expence now made at Rome, that it is not possible for the people to live, and pay the taxes; which hath driven, as is believed, almost a fourth part of the inhabitants out of Rome during this pontificate. And as the pre-emption of the corn makes, that there is no profit made by the owners out of the cultivation of the soil, all that going wholly to the Pope; so there are no ways left here of employing one's money to any considerable advantage; for the public banks, which are all in the Pope's hand, do not pay in effect 3 per cent.

cent. though they pretend to give 4 *per cent.* interest. The settlement is indeed 4 *per cent.*; and this was thought so great an advantage, that actions on the Pope's bank were bought at 116 *per cent.* But this Pope broke through all this; and declared he would give all men their money again, unless they would pay 30 *per cent.* for the continuing of this interest. And thus for an hundred crowns principal, one not only paid at first an hundred and sixteen, but afterwards thirty; in all, an hundred and forty-six for the hundred; which is almost the half lost; for whensoever the Pope will pay back their money, all the rest is lost. And while I am here, there is a report, that the Pope is treating with the Genoese for money at 2 *per cent.*; and, if he gets it on those terms, he will then pay his debts; and the subjects that have put in money in this bank, will by this means lose 46 *per cent.* which is almost the half of their stock. A man of quality at Rome, and an eminent churchman, who took me likewise for one of their clergy, because I wore the habit of a churchman, said, that it was a horrible scandal to the whole Christian world, and made one doubt of the truth of the Christian religion, to see more oppression and cruelty in their territory, than was to be found even in Turkey; though it being in the hands of Christ's vicar, one should expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle government. And how (said he) can a man expect to find his religion here, where the common maxims of justice and mercy were not so much as known? And I can never forget the lively reflection that a Roman prince made to me upon the folly of all those severe oppressions; which as they drive away the inhabitants, so they reduce those that are left to such a degeneracy of spirit by their necessities; that the Spaniards, whose dominions look so big in the

map, are now brought so low; and if they had kept still the possession they once had of the United Netherlands, they would signify no more towards their preservation, than their other provinces did; which, by their unskilful conduct, they have both dispeopled and exhausted: whereas, by their losing those seven provinces, those states have fallen upon such wise notions of government, and have drawn so much wealth, and such numbers of people together, that Spain itself was now preserved by them, and was saved in this age by the loss it made of those provinces in the last; and those states, that if they had remained subject to Spain, would have signified little to its support, did that now much more considerably, by being allies, than they could have done, if they had not shaken off their yoke.

Indeed, if Spain had been so happy as to have such viceroys and governors as it has now in Naples, their affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The Marquis of Carpy, in his youth, intended to have taken so severe a revenge of an injury that he thought the late King of Spain did him in an amour, that he designed the blowing him up by gun-powder, when he was in the council-chamber. But that crime was discovered in time; and was not only forgiven him, in consideration of the greatness of his family, he being the son of Don Lewis de Haro; but after that he was made for several years ambassador at Rome. He is now Viceroy of Naples, and is the only governor of all the places through which I passed, that is, without exception, beloved and esteemed by all sorts of people; for, during the few years of his ministry, he hath redressed such abuses as seemed past cure, and that required an age to correct them. He hath repressed the insolence of the Spaniards so much at Naples, that the natives have

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no occasion to complain of the haughtiness of their masters; for he proceeds against the Spaniards with no less severity, when they give cause for it, than against the Neapolitans. He hath taken the pay of the soldiers so immediately into his own care, that they who, before his coming, were half naked, and robbed such as passed on the streets of Naples in day-light, are now exactly paid, well disciplined, and so decently clothed, that it is a pleasure to see them. He examines their musters also so exactly, that he is sure not to be cheated by false lists. He hath brought the markets and weights of Naples to a true exactness. And whereas the bread was generally too light, he has sent for loaves out of the several places of the markets, and weighed them himself; and, by some severe punishments on those that sold the bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a just regulation. He hath also brought the courts of judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to reputation again; and it is believed he hath spies to watch, in case the trade of bribes is still found to be still going on. He hath fortified the palace, which was before his time so much exposed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a descent upon it. But the two things that raise his reputation most, are, his extirpating of the *banditti*, and the regulation of the coin, which he hath taken in hand. It is well known what a plague the *banditti* have been to the kingdom; for they going in troops, not only robbed the country, but were able to resist an ordinary body of soldiers, if they had set on them. These travelled about seeking for spoil all the summer long; but in winter they were harboured by some of the Neapolitan barons, who gave them quarters, and thereby did not only protect their own lands, but had them as so many instruments ready to execute their

their revenges on their enemies. This was well known at Naples, and there was a council that had the care of the reducing the *banditti* committed to them; who, as they caught some few, and hanged them, so they fined such barons as gave them harbour; and it was believed, that those fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thousand crowns a-year. And thus the disease went on; only now and then there was a little blood let, which never went to the bottom of the distemper. But when the present Viceroy entered upon the government, he resolved to extirpate all the *banditti*; and he first let all the barons understand, that if they harboured them any more, a little fine would not save them, but that he would proceed against them with the utmost severity; and by this means the *banditti* could find no winter-quarters. So they betook themselves to some fastnesses among the hills, and resolved to make good the passes, and to accommodate themselves the best they could amidst the mountains. The Viceroy sent a great body against them; but they defended themselves for some time vigorously, and in one sally they killed five hundred men: but at last, seeing that they were like to be hard pressed, and that the Viceroy intended to come against them in person, they accepted of the terms that he offered them; which were, a pardon for what was past, both as to life and gallies, and sixpence a-day for their subsistence in prison during life, or the Viceroy's pleasure; and so they rendered themselves. They are kept in a large prison; and now and then, as he sees cause for it, he sends some few of them up and down to serve in garrisons. And thus, beyond all mens expectation, he finished this matter in a very few months; and the kingdom of Naples, that hath been so long a scene of pillage and robbery, is now so much changed, that in no place
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of Europe do the subjects enjoy a more entire security. As for the coin, it, as all the other Spanish money, is so subject to clipping, that the whole money of Naples is now light, and far below the true value: so the Viceroy hath resolved to redress this. He considers, that the crying down of money that passeth upon the public credit, is a robbing of those in whose hands the money happens to be when such proclamations are put out; and therefore he takes a method that is more general, in which every one will bear his share, so that none will be crushed by it. He hath laid some taxes on the whole kingdom, and hath got a great many to bring in some plate to be coined: and when he hath thus prepared such a quantity as may serve for the circulation that is necessary, he intends to call in all the old money, and to give out new money for it. Thus doth this Viceroy set such a pattern to the other ministers of the crown of Spain, that if many would follow it, the state of their affairs would be soon altered.

The kingdom of Naples is the richest part of all Italy; for the very mountains, that are near the half of the soil, are fruitful, and produce either wine or oil in great abundance. Apulia is a great corn country, but it is excessive hot, and in some years all is burnt up. The Jesuits are the proprietors of near the half of Apulia, and they treat their tenants with the same rigour that the barons of this kingdom do generally use towards their farmers. For the commons here are so miserably oppressed, that in many places they die of hunger, even in the midst of the great plenty of their best years; ~~and~~ corn is exported to Spain; but neither the Spaniards nor the Neapolitans understand trade so well, as to be their own merchants or carriers; so that the English do generally carry away the profit of this trade. The oil of this kingdom is still a vast

vast trade, and the manufacture of the wool and soap of England consumes yearly some thousands of tuns. The silk trade is so low, that it only serves themselves, but the exportation is inconsiderable. The sloth and laziness of this people render them incapable of making those advantages of so rich a soil, that a more industrious sort of people would find out. For it amazes a stranger, to see in their little towns the whole men of the town walking in the market-places in their torn cloaks, and doing nothing. And though in some big towns, such as Capua, there is but one inn; yet even that is so miserable, that the best room and bed in it is so bad, that our footmen in England would make a grievous outcry if they were no better lodged. Nor is there any thing to be had in them; the wine is intolerable, the bread ill baked, no victuals, except pigeons, and the oil is rotten. In short, except one carries his whole provision from Rome or Naples, he must resolve to endure a good deal of misery in the four days journey that is between those two places. And this is what a traveller, that sees the riches of the soil, cannot comprehend. But as they have not hands enough for their soil, so those they have are generally so little employed, that it is no wonder to see their soil produce so little, that, in the midst of all that abundance that Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest nations of Europe. But, beside this which I have named, the vast and dead wealth that is in the hands of the churchmen, is another evident cause of their misery. One that knew the state of this kingdom well, assured me, that if it were divided into five parts, upon a strict survey, it would be found, that the churchmen had four parts of the five; which he made out thus. They have in soil above the half of the whole, which is two and a half; and in

tithes,

tithes, and gifts, and legacies, they have one and a half more: for no man dieth without leaving a considerable legacy to some church or convent. The wealth that one sees in the city of Naples alone passeth imagination. There are four and twenty houses of the order of the Dominicans, of both sexes, and two and twenty of the Franciscans; seven of the Jesuits, besides the convents of the Olivatines, the Theatines, the Carmelites, the Benedictines; and above all, for situation and riches, the Carthusians, on the top of the hill that lieth over the town. The riches of the Annunciata are prodigious; it is the greatest hospital in the world; the revenue is said to be four hundred thousand crowns a-year. The number of the sick is not so great as at Milan; yet one convenience for their sick I observed in their galleries, which was considerable, that every bed stood as in an alcove, and had a wall on both sides, separating it from the beds on both hands, and as much void space on both sides of the bed, that the bed itself took up but half the room. The young children that they maintain are so many, that one can hardly believe the numbers that they boast of; for they talk of many thousands that are not seen, but are at nurse. A great part of the wealth of this house goeth to the enriching their church, which will be all over within crusted with inlayings of lovely marble, in a great variety and beauty of colours. The plate that is in the treasury here, and in the dome, (which is but a mean building, because it is ancient, but hath a noble chapel, and a vast treasure), and in a great many other churches, are so prodigious, that, upon the most modest estimate, the plate of the churches of Naples amounts to eight millions of crowns. The new church of the Jesuits, that of St John the Apostle, and that of St Paul, are surprisngly rich. The gilding and painting

painting that is on the roofs of those churches have cost millions: and as there are about a hundred convents in Naples, so every one of these, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth seeing, though the riches of the greater convents here make many of them to be less visited. Every year there is a new governor of the Annunziata, who perhaps puts in his own pocket twenty thousand crowns; and, to make some compensation, when he goeth out of office, he giveth a vast piece of plate to the house, a statue for a saint in silver, or some coloss of a candlestick; for several of those pieces of plate are said to be worth ten thousand crowns. And thus all the silver of Naples becomes dead and useless. The Jesuits are great merchants here; their wine-cellar is a vast vault, and holds above a thousand hogsheads, and the best wine of Naples is sold by them: yet they do not retale it out so scandalously as the Minims do, who live on the great square before the Viceroy's palace, and sell out their wine by retale. They pay no duty, and have extraordinary good wine, and are in the best place of the town for this retale. It is true, the Neapolitans are no great drinkers; so the profits of this tavern are not so great as they would be in colder countries: for here men go only in for a draught in the mornings, or when they are athirst. Yet the house groweth extreme rich, and has one of the finest chapels that is in all Naples; but the trade seems very unbecoming men of that profession, and of so strict an order. The convents have a very particular privilege in this town; for they may buy all the houses that lie on either side, till the first street that discontinueth the houses; and there being scarce a street in Naples in which there is not a convent, by this means they may come to buy the whole town. And the progress that the wealth of the clergy

clergy makes in this kingdom is so visible, that, if there is not some stop put to it, within an age they will make themselves masters of the whole kingdom. It is an amazing thing to see so profound an ignorance, as reigns among the clergy, prevail so effectually: for though all the secular persons here speak of them with all possible scorn, yet they are the masters of the spirits of the people. The women are infinitely superstitious, and give their husbands no rest, but as they draw from them great presents to the church. It is true, there are societies of men at Naples, of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of Italy. The Greek learning begins to flourish there; and the new philosophy is much studied; and there is an assembly that is held in D. Joseph Valeta's library, (where there is a vast collection of well-chosen books), composed of men that have a right taste of true learning and good sense. They are ill looked on by the clergy, and represented as a set of Atheists, and as the spawn of Pomponatius's school. But I found no such thing among them: for I had the honour to meet twice or thrice with a considerable number of them, during the short stay that I made among them. There is a learned lawyer Francisco Andria, that is considered as one of the most inquisitive men of the assembly. There is also a grandchild of the great Alciat, who is very curious as well as learned. Few churchmen come into this attempt for the reviving of learning among them; on the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all things. Only one eminent preacher, Rinaldi, that is Archdeacon of Capua, associates himself with them. He was once of the Jesuits order, but left it; and as that alone served to give a good character of him to me, so, upon a long conversation with him, I found a great many other things that possessed me with a high value for him.

Some physicians in Naples are brought under the scandal of Atheism; and it is certain, that, in Italy, men of searching understandings, who have no other idea of the Christian religion, but that which they see received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite: for they believing it all alike in gross, without distinction, and finding such notorious cheats as appear in many parts of their religion, are, upon that, induced to disbelieve the whole. The preachings of the Monks in Naples are terrible things. I saw a Jesuit go in a sort of procession, with a great company about him, and calling upon all that he saw to follow him to a place, where a mountebank was selling his medicines; near whom he took his room, and entertained the people with a sort of a farce, till the mountebank got him to give over, fearing lest his action should grow tedious, and disperse the company that was brought together. There are no famous preachers, nor men of any reputation for learning among the Jesuits. I was told they had not men capable to teach their schools, and that they were forced to hire strangers. The order of the Oratory hath not that reputation in Italy that it hath gained in France; and the little learning that is among the clergy at Naples, is among some few secular priests.

The new method of Melines doth so much prevail in Naples, that it is believed he hath above twenty thousand followers in this city. And since this hath made some noise in the world, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him. He is a Spanish priest, that seems to be but an ordinary divine, and is certainly a very ill reasoner, when he undertakes to prove his opinions. He hath writ a book which is intitled, *Il guida spirituale*; which is a short abstract of the mystical divinity. The substance of the whole

whole is reduced to this, *That in our prayers, and other devotions, the best methods are, to retire the mind from all gross images, and so to form an act of faith, and thereby to present ourselves before God; and then to sink into a silence and cessation of new acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his conduct.* This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts, and different forms of devotion; and he makes small account of corporal austerities, and reduces all the exercises of religion to this simplicity of mind. He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in religious houses, but even to secular persons; and by this he hath proposed a great reformation of mens minds and manners. He hath many priests in Italy; but chiefly in Naples, that dispose those who confess themselves to them to follow his method. The Jesuits have set themselves much against this conduct, as foreseeing that it may much weaken the empire that superstition hath over the minds of people; that it may make religion become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open a door to enthusiasms. They also pretend, that his conduct is factious and seditious; that this may breed a schism in the church. And because he saith in some places of his book, *That the mind may rise up to such a simplicity in its acts, that it may rise in some of its devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the humanity of Christ;* they have accused him as intending to lay aside the doctrine of Christ's humanity; though it is plain that he speaks only of the purity of some single acts. Upon all those heads they have set themselves much against Molinos; and they have also pretended, that some of his disciples have infused into their penitents, *That they may go and communicate, as they find themselves disposed, without going first to confession;* which they thought weakened much the yoke by which the

priests subdue the consciences of the people to their conduct. Yet he was much supported, both in the kingdom of Naples and in Sicily. He had also many friends and followers at Rome. So the Jesuits, as a Provincial of the order assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great King, that is now extremely in the interests of their order, to interpose, and to represent to the Pope the danger of such innovations. It is certain, the Pope understands the matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great opinion of Molinos's sanctity; yet, upon the complaints of some Cardinals that seconded the zeal of that King, he and some of his followers were clapped in the inquisition, where they have been now for some months: but they are still well used; which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the Pope hath of him, who saith still, that though he may have erred; yet he is certainly a good man. Upon this imprisonment Pasquin said a pleasant thing. In one week, one man had been condemned to the gallies for somewhat he had said, another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ, and Molinos was clapped in prison, whose doctrine consisted chiefly in this, *That men ought to bring their minds to a state of inward quietness*; from which the name of *Quietists* was given to all his followers. The Pasquinade upon all this was, *Si parliamo, in gal- lere; si scriviamo, impiccati; si siamo in quiete, all' sant' officio: e che bisogna fare?* "If we speak, we are sent to the gallies; if we write, we are hang- ed; if we stand quiet, we are clapped up in the inquisition: What must we do then?" Yet his followers at Naples are not daunted, but they believe he will come out of this trial victorious.

The city of Naples, as it is the best situated, and in the best climate, so it is one of the noblest cities of Europe; and if it is not above half as big
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as Paris or London, yet it hath much more beauty than either of them. The streets are large and broad, the pavement is great and noble, the stones being generally above a foot square; and it is full of palaces and great buildings. The town is well supplied by daily markets, so that provisions are ever fresh, and in great plenty. The wine is the best in Europe, and both the fish and flesh are extreme good. It is scarce ever cold in winter; and there is a fresh air comes both from the sea and the mountains in summer. The Viceroy's palace is no extraordinary building; only the stair-case is great; but it is now very richly furnished within in pictures and statues. There are in it some statues of the Egyptian deities, of touchstone, that are of great value. There are no great antiquities here: only there is an ancient Roman portico that is very noble before St Paul's church. But without the city, near the church and hospital of St Gennaro that is without the gates, are the noble catacombs; which, because they were beyond any thing I saw in Italy; and to which the catacombs of Rome are not to be compared, and since I do not find any account of them in all the books that I have yet seen concerning Naples, I shall describe them more particularly.

They are vast and long galleries cut out of the rock; there are three stories of them, one above another. I was in two of them; but the rock is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it; but I saw the passage to it. These galleries are generally about twenty foot broad, and about fifteen foot high; so that they are noble and spacious places, and not little and narrow as the catacombs at Rome, which are only three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. I was made believe, that these catacombs of Naples went into the rock nine miles long; but for that I have it only by report:

port: yet if that be true, they may perhaps run towards Puzzuolo, and so they may have been the burial-places of the towns on that bay; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found galleries going off on all hands without end: and whereas, in the Roman catacombs, there are not above three or four rows of niches that are cut out in the rock one over another, into which the dead bodies were laid; here there are generally six or seven rows of those niches, and they are both larger and higher. Some niches are for childrens bodies; and in many places there are in the floors, as it were, great chests hewn out of the rock, to lay the bones of the dead, as they are dried, in them; but I could see no marks either of a cover for these holes, which looked like the bellies of chests, or of a facing to shut up the niches when a dead body was laid in them: so that it seems they were monstrous, unwholsome, and stinking places, where some thousands of bodies lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so lothsome a sight, and so odious a smell; for the niches shew plainly, that the bodies were laid in them only wrapped in the dead cloaths, they being too low for coffins. In some places of the rock there is, as it were, a little chapel hewn out in the rock, that goes off from the common gallery, and there are niches all round about; but I saw no marks of any wall that shut in such places; though I am apt to think these might be burying-places appropriated to particular families. There is, in some places on the walls and arch old mosaic work, and some painting; the colours are fresh, and the manner and characters are Gothic; which made me conclude, that this might have been done by the Normans about six hundred years ago, after they drove out the Saracens. In some places there are palm-trees painted, and vines in other places: the
freshness

freshness of the colours shews these could not have been done while this place was employed for burying; for the steams and rottenness of the air, occasioned by so much corruption, must have dissolved both plaister and colours. In one place there is a man painted, with a little beard, and *Paulus* is written by his head; there is another reaching him a garland, and by his head *Laus* is written: and this is repeated in another place right over against it. In another place I found a cross painted, and about the upper part of it these letters, J. C. X. O. and on the lower part N J K A are painted. A learned antiquary that went with me, agreed with me, that the manner of the painting and characters did not seem to be above six hundred years old; but neither of us knew what to make of these letters. The lower seemed to relate to the last word of the vision, which it is said that Constantine saw with the cross that appeared to him: but though the first two letters might be for *Jesus*, it being ordinary in old coins and inscriptions to put a C for an S, and X stands for *Christ*; yet we knew not what to make of the O, unless it were for the Greek Θ ; and that the little line in the bosom of the *Theta* was worn out; and then it stands for *Theos*: and thus the whole inscription is, *Jesus Christ God overcometh*. Another picture in the wall had written over it *Sta Johannes*, which was a clear sign of a barbarous age. In another place there is a picture high in the wall, and three pictures under it: that at top had no inscription; those below it had these inscriptions, *S. Katharina*, *S. Agape*, and *S. Margarita*. These letters are clearly modern; besides that *Margaret* and *Katharine* are modern names; and the addition of *ta* a little above the *S*, were manifest evidences that the highest antiquity that can be ascribed to this painting is six hundred years. I saw no more painting,

painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkness, and the thick air of the place; so I staid not above an hour in the catacombs. This made me reflect more particularly on the catacombs of Rome than I had done. I could imagine no reason why so little mention is made of those of Naples, when there is so much said concerning those of Rome; and could give myself no other account of the matter, but that it being a maxim to keep up the reputation of the Roman catacombs, as the repositories of the reliques of the primitive Christians, it would have much lessened their credit, if it had been thought that there were catacombs far beyond them in all respects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the work of the primitive Christians. And indeed nothing seems more evident, than that these were the common burying-places of the ancient Heathens. One enters into them without the walls of the towns, according to the laws of the twelve tables; and such are the catacombs of Rome that I saw, which were those of St Agnes and St Sebastian, the entry into them being without the town. This answers the law, though in effect they run under it; for in those days, when they had not the use of the needle, they could not know which way they carried on those works, when they were once so far engaged under ground as to lose themselves. It is a vain imagination to think, that the Christians in the primitive times were able to carry on such a work: for as this prodigious digging into such rocks must have been a very visible thing, by the mountains of rubbish that must have been brought out, and by the vast number of hands that must have been employed in it; so it is absurd to think, that they could hold their assemblies amidst the annoyance of so much corruption. I found the steams so strong, that though I am as little subject to vapours as most men, yet I had all the

the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a confusion, and as it were a boiling in my head, that disordered me extremely; and if there is now so much stagnating air there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner while there were vast numbers of bodies rotting in those niches. But, besides this improbability that presents itself from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a passage of a letter of Cornelius, that was Bishop of Rome after the middle of the third century, which is preserved by Eusebius in his sixth book, chap. 43. in which we have the state of the church of Rome at that time set forth. There were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, as many sub-deacons, and ninety-four of the inferior orders of the clergy among them. There were also fifteen hundred widows, and other poor, maintained out of the public charities. It may be reasonably supposed, that the numbers of the Christians were as great when this epistle was writ, as they were at any time before Constantine's days: for as this was writ at the end of that long peace, of which both St Cyprian and Lactantius speak, that had continued above an hundred years; so, after this time, there was such a succession of persecutions that came so thick one upon another, after short intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the Christians increased much beyond what they were at this time. Now, there are two particulars in this state of the clergy, upon which one may make a probable estimate of the numbers of the Christians. The one is, their poor, which were but fifteen hundred. Now, upon an exact survey, it will be found, that where the poor are well looked to, their number rises generally to be the thirtieth or fortieth part of mankind: and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the poor among the Christians of that age; for as
their

their charity was vigorous and tender, so we find Celsus, Julian, Lucian, Porphyry, and others, object this to the Christians of that time, that their charities to the poor drew vast numbers of the lower sort among them, who made themselves Christians, that they might be supplied by their brethren. So that this being the state of the Christians then, we may reckon the poor the thirtieth part; and so fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty produce five and forty thousand. And I am the more inclined to think that this rises near to the full sum of their numbers, by the other character of the numbers of the clergy: for as there were forty-six presbyters, so there were ninety-four of the inferior orders, who were two more than double the number of the priests: and this was in a time when the care of souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted ages; the clergy having then really more work on their hands; the instructing their catechumens, the visiting their sick, and the supporting and comforting the weak, being tasks that required so much application, that, in so vast a city as Rome was in those days, in which it is probable the Christians were scattered over the city, and mixed in all the parts of it, we make a conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every presbyter had perhaps about a thousand souls committed to his care; so this rises to six and forty thousand, which comes very near the sum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the number of their poor. So that about fifty thousand is the highest account to which we can reasonably raise the numbers of the Christians of Rome in that time; and of so many persons, the old, the young, and the women; make more than three fourth parts; so that the men who were in condition to work were not above twelve thousand, and by consequence they were in no condition to undertake

undertake and carry on so vast a work. If Cornelius in that letter speaks of the numbers of the Christians in excessive terms; and if Tertullian in his apology hath also set out the numbers of the Christians of his time in a very high strain, that is only to be ascribed to a pompous eloquence, which disposeth people to magnify their own party; and we must allow a good deal to an hyperbole, that is very natural to all that set forth their forces in general terms. It is true, it is not so clear when those vast cavities were dug out of the rocks. We know, that when the laws of the twelve tables were made, sepulture was then in use; and Rome being then grown to a vast bigness, no doubt they had repositories for their dead: so that, since none of the Roman authors mention any such work, it may not be unreasonable to imagine, that these vaults had been wrought and cut out from the first beginnings of the city, and so the later authors had no occasion to take notice of it. It is also certain, that though burning came to be in use among the Romans, yet they returned back to their first custom of burying bodies long before Constantine's time; so that it was not the Christian religion that produced this change. All our modern writers take it for granted, that the change was made in the times of the Antonines; yet there being no law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an age full of writers, of any orders that were given for burying-places, Velserus's opinion seems more probable, that the custom of burning wore out by degrees. And since we are sure that they once buried, it is more natural to think, that the slaves and the meaner sort of people were still buried, that being a less expensive and a more simple way of bestowing their bodies than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable; and if there were already burying-places prepared, it is much easier

easier to imagine how the custom of burying grew universal without any law made concerning it.

I could not for some time find out upon what grounds the modern critics take it for granted, that burying began in the times of the Antonines, till I had the happiness to talk of this matter with the learned Gronovius, who seems to be such a master of all the ancient learning, as if he had the authors lying always open before him: He told me, that it was certain the change from burning to burying was not made by the Christian Emperors: for Macrobius (*lib. 7. cap. 7.*) says in plain terms, That the custom of burning the bodies of the dead was quite worn out in that age; which is a clear intimation; that it was not laid aside so late as Constantine: and as there was no law made by him on that head, so he and the succeeding Emperors gave such an entire toleration to Paganism, admitting those of that religion to the greatest employments, that it is not to be imagined that there was any order given against burning. So that it is clear the Heathens had changed it of their own accord, otherwise we should have found that among the complaints that they made of the grievances under which they lay from the Christians. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made. Gronovius shewed me a passage of Phlegon's, that mentions the bodies that were laid in the ground; yet he did not build on that, for it may have relation to the customs of burying that might be elsewhere: and so Petronius gives the account of the burial of the Ephesian matron's husband. But he made it apparent to me, that burying was commonly practised in Commodus's time: for Xiphilius tells us, that, in Pertinax's time, the friends of those whom Commodus had ordered to be put to death, had dug up their bodies; some bringing out only some parts of them, and others raising their entire

entire bodies. The same author also tells us, that Pertinax buried Commodus's body, and so saved it from the rage of the people : and here is a positive evidence, that burying was the common practice of that time. The same learned person has, since my first conversation with him upon this subject, suggested to me two passages of Festus Pompeius, that seem to determine this whole matter ; and that tell us by what names those catacombs were known in the Roman time, whereabouts they were, and what sort of persons were laid in them : we have also the designation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the dead bodies. And it appears particularly by them, that, in the repositories of which that author makes mention, there was no care taken to preserve the bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are : *Puticulos antiquissimum genus sepulture appellatos, quod ibi in puteis sepelirentur homines; qualis fuerit locus, quo nunc cadavera projici solent extra portam Esquilinam: quæ, quod ibi putescerent, inde prius appellatos existimat Puticulos Ælius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres-familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vitia projicerent, atque ita projecta; quod ibi ea putescerent, nomen esse factum Puticuli.* The other passage runs thus : *Vesperes & vespillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non a minutis illis volucris, sed quia vespertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees so exactly to the thoughts that a general view of those repositories gives a man, that it will not be hard to persuade him, that those burying-places that are now graced with the pompous title of *catacombs*, are no other than the *puticuli* of Festus Pompeius, where the meanest sort of the Roman slaves were laid, and so, without any farther care about them, were left to rot.

It is true, it is very probable, that as we see some of the Roman families continue to bury their dead, even when burning was the more common custom; so perhaps others continued after this to burn their dead, the thing being indifferent, and no law made about it; and therefore it was particularly objected to the Christians after this time, that they abhorred the custom of burning the bodies of the dead; which is mentioned by Minutius Felix. But this, or any other evidences that may be brought from medals of consecrations after this time, will only prove that some were still burnt; and that the Christians practised burying universally, as expressing their belief of the resurrection; whereas the Heathens held the thing indifferent. It is also clear from the many genuine inscriptions that have been found in the catacombs, which bear the dates of the consuls, that these were the common burial-places of all the Christians of the fourth and fifth century; for I do not remember that there is any one date that is ancients: and yet not one of the writers of those ages speak of them as the work of the primitive Christians. They speak indeed of the burial-places of the martyrs; but that will prove no more, but that the Christians might have had their quarters and their walks in those common burial-places where they laid their dead, and which might have been known among them; though it is not likely that they would in times of persecution make such inscriptions as might have exposed the bodies of their dead friends to the rage of their enemies: and the spurious acts of some saints and martyrs are of too little credit to give any support to the common opinion. Damasus's poetry is of no better authority. And though those ages were inclined enough to give credit to fables, yet it seems this of those catacombs having been the work of the primitive Christians, was too gross

gross a thing to have been so early imposed on the world. And this silence in an age in which superstition was going on at so great a rate, has much force in it; for so vast a work as those catacombs are, must have been well known to all the Romans. It were easy to carry this much farther, and to shew, that the bas reliefs that have been found in some of those catacombs, have nothing of the beauty of the ancient Roman time. This is also more discernible in many inscriptions that are more Gothic than Roman; and there are so many inscriptions relating to fables, that it is plain these were of later times: and we see by Saint Jerome, that the monks began even in his time to drive a trade of reliques. So it is no wonder that, to raise the credit of such a heap as was never to be exhausted, they made some miserable sculptures and some inscriptions, and perhaps shut up the entries into them with much care and secrecy, intending to open them upon some dream or other artifice, to give them the more reputation; which was often practised, in order to the drawing much wealth and great devotion even to some single relique: and a few being upon this secret, either those might have died, or, by the many revolutions that happened at Rome, they might have been dispersed before they made the discovery. And thus the knowledge of those places was lost, and came to be discovered by accident in the last age; and hath ever since supplied them with an inexhaustible magazine of bones, which by all appearance are no other than the bones of the Pagan Romans, which are now sent over the world to feed a superstition that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus the bones of the Roman slaves, or at least those of the meaner sort, are now set in silver and gold, with a great deal of other costly garniture, and entertain the superstition of those who are will-

ing to be deceived, as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to deceive the world. But because it cannot be pretended that there was such a number of Christians at Naples as could have wrought such catacombs; and if it had been once thought, that those were the common burial-places of the ancient Heathens, that might have induced the world to think that the Roman catacombs were no other: therefore there hath been no care taken to examine these. I thought this deserved a large discourse, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this subject.

I will not enter upon a long description of that which is so well known as Mont Vesuvio. It had roared so loud about a month before I came to Naples, that at Naples they could hardly sleep in the nights; and some old houses were so shaken by the earthquake that was occasioned by this convulsion of the hill, that they fell to the ground. And the great convulsion, above fifty years ago, was so terrible, that there was no small fear in Naples, though it lies at the distance of seven miles from the hill: yet the storm was choked under ground; for though it smoked much more than ordinary, yet there was no eruption. It was indeed smoking, not only in the mouth of the little mount that is formed within the great waste that the fire hath made, but also all along the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this mountain (which is four miles in compass) and that inward hill. When one sees the mouth of this fire, and so great a part of the hill, which is covered some feet deep with ashes and stones, of a metallic composition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but stand amazed, and wonder what can be the fuel of so lasting a burning, that hath calcined so much matter, and spewed out such prodigious quantities. It is plain, there are vast veins of sulphur all along in
this

this soil ; and it seems in this mountain they run along through some mines and rocks : and as their slow consumption produceth a perpetual smoke, so, when the air within is so much rarified that it must open itself, it throws up those masses of metal and rock that shut it in. But how this fire draws in air to nourish its flame, is not so easily apprehended ; unless there is either a conveyance of air under-ground, by some undiscovered vacuity, or a more insensible transmission of air through the pores of the earth. The heat of this hill operates so much upon the soil that lies upon it towards the foot of it, that it produceth the richest wine about Naples ; and it also purifieth the air so much, that the village at the bottom is thought the best air of the country ; so that many come from Naples thither for their health. Ischia, that is an island not far from Naples, doth also sometimes spew out fire.

On the other side of Naples to the west, one passeth through the cave that pierceth the Pausalippe, and is four hundred and forty paces long ; for I walked it on foot, to take its true measure. It is twenty foot broad, and at first forty foot high ; but afterwards it is but twenty foot high. The stone cut out here is good for building ; so that, as this opened the way from Puzzuolo to Naples, it was also a quarry for the building of the town. All along the way here, one discovers a strange boiling within the ground ; for a little beyond this grott of Pausalippe, as we come near the lake of Aniano, there is on the one hand a bath, occasioned by a steam that riseth so hot out of the ground, that as soon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himself all over in a sweat ; which is very proper for some diseases, especially that which carries its name from Naples. And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little grott that sends out a poisonous steam ; that as it puts out a

candle as soon as it cometh near it, so it infallibly killeth any living creature within a minute of time : for in half that time a dog, upon which the experiment is commonly tried, (the grott being from thence called *grotto di cane*), fell into a convulsion. From that one goeth to see the poor remains of Puzzuolo, and of all that bay, that was once all about a tract of towns, it having been the retreat of the Romans during the heats of the summer. All the rarities here have been so often, and so copiously described, that I am sensible I can add nothing to what is so well known. I will say nothing of the amphitheatre, or of Cicero and Virgil's houses, for which there is nothing but a dubious tradition. They are ancient brick buildings of the Roman way ; and the vaults of Virgil's house are still entire. The Sulfatara is a surprising thing. Here is a bottom, out of which the force of the fire, that breaks out still in many places in a thick steaming smoke that is full of brimstone, did throw up about an hundred and fifty years ago a vast quantity of earth, which was carried about three miles thence, and formed the hill called *Monte Nuovo*, upon the ruins of a town that was overwhelmed with this eruption, which is of a very considerable height. They told me, that there was before that time a channel, that went from the bay into the lake of Averno, of which one sees the beginnings in the bay at some distance from the shore : it carrieth still the name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by Julius Cæsar. But by the swelling of the ground, upon the eruption of the Sulfatara, this passage is stopped, and the Averno is now fresh water. It is eighteen fathom deep. On the side of it is that amazing cave, where the Sybil is said to have given out her inspirations. The hewing it out of the rock hath been a prodigious work ; for the rock is one of the hardest.

hardest stones in the world, and the cave goeth in seven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and, as I could guess, eighteen foot high: and from the end of this great gallery, there is a narrow passage of three foot broad, two hundred foot long, and seven high, to a little apartment, to which we go in a constant sloping descent from the great cave. Here are three little rooms; in one of them there are some remains of an old mosaic, with which the walls and the roof were laid over. There is also a spring of water, and a bath, in which it is supposed the Sybil bathed herself; and from this cave it is said, that there runs a cave all along to Cuma, which is three long miles; but the passage is now choked by the falling in of the rock in several places. This piece of work amazed me. I did not much mind the popular opinion that is easily received there, that all this was done by the devil. The marks of the chissel in all parts of the rock shew, that this is not a work of nature. Certainly they had both much leisure, and many hands at their command who set about it; and it seems to have been wrought out with no other design, but to subject the people more entirely to the conduct of the priests that managed this imposture: so busy and industrious hath the ambition and fraud of the priests been in all ages, and in all corrupt religions. But of all the scenes of noble objects that present themselves in the bay of Puzzuolo, the remains of Caligula's bridge are the most amazing; for there are yet standing eight or ten of the pillars that supported the arches, and of some of the arches the half is yet entire. I had not a line with me to examine the depth of the water where the furthest of those pillars is built; but my waterman assured me it was fifty cubits. I have, since my being in Naples, instructed one that was going thither in this particular, and have received

received this account from him : That he had taken care to plum the water at the furthest pillar of Caligula's bridge, on the Puzzuolo side, and found it was seven fathom and a half deep : but he adds, that the waterman assured him, that, on the other side before Baia, the water was twenty-six fathom deep. But as he had not a plummet long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated : for the waterman had assured him, that the water was ten fathom deep on the Puzzuolo side ; though, upon trial, he found it was only seven and a half. And by this measure one may suppose that the water is twenty fathom deep on the other side. So that it is one of the most astonishing things that one can think of, that pillars of brick could have been built in such a depth of water. This I cannot believe ; but it is certainly so deep, that one can scarce imagine how it was possible to build in such a depth ; and for the carrying off of the sea, that seems yet more impossible. It is a noble monument of the profuse and extravagant expence of a brutal tyrant, who made one of the vastest bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four miles of sea, merely to sacrifice so great a treasure to his vanity. As for Agrippina's tomb, it is no great matter ; only the bas reliefs are yet entire. The marvellous fish-pond is a great basin of water, wrought like a huge temple, standing upon eight and forty great pillars, all hewed out of the rock ; and they are laid over with four crusts of the old plaister, which is now as hard as stone. This is believed to be a work of Nero's. And about a quarter of a mile from thence, there is another vast work, which goeth into a rock ; but at the entrance there is a noble portico built of pillars of brick : and as one enters into the rock, he finds a great many rooms regularly

larly shaped, hewed out of the rock, and all covered over with plaister; which is still entire, and so white, that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since it was first made. There are a vast number of these rooms; they are said to be a hundred; from whence this cave carrieth the name of the *centum camerae*. This hath been as expensive a work as it is useless. It is intitled to Nero; and here they say he kept his prisoners. But there is nothing in all this bay that is both so curious and so useful as the baths, which seem to flow from the same reason that is the cause of those eruptions in the Vesuvio and Sulfatara, and the grottoes formerly mentioned; that as this heat makes some fountains there to be boiling hot, so it sends up a steam through the rock, that doth not break through the pores of the stone where it is hard, but where the rock is soft and spongy, there the steams come through with so melting a heat, that a man is soon, as it were, dissolved in sweat: but if he stoops low in the passages that are out in the rock, he finds no heat, because there the rock is hard. These steams, as they are all hot, so they are impregnated with such minerals as they find in their way through the rock; and near this bath there are galleries hewed out of the rock, and faced with a building, in which there are, as it were, bedsteads made in the walls, upon which those that come thither to sweat for their healths lay their quilts and bed-cloaths, and so come regularly out of their sweats.

It is certain, that a man can no where pass a day of his life, both with so much pleasure, and with such advantage, as he finds in this journey to Puzzuolo, and all along the bay. But though anciently this was all so well built, so peopled, and so beautifully laid out; yet no where doth one see more visibly what a change time brings upon all places:

places: for Naples hath so entirely ate out this place, and drawn its inhabitants to it, that as Puzzuolo itself is but a small village, so there is now no other in all this bay, which was anciently built almost all round; for there were seven big towns upon it. Having thus told you what I found most considerable in Naples, I cannot pass by that noble remnant of the Via Appia, that runs along thirty miles of the way between it and Rome, without making some mention of it. This highway is twelve foot broad, all made of huge stones, most of them blue; and they are generally a foot and half large on all sides. The strength of this causey appears in its long duration; for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred years, and is in most places, for several miles together, as entire as when it was first made: and the many botches that have been made in mending such places as have been worn out by time, shew a very visible difference between the ancient and the modern way of paving. One thing seems strange, that the way is level with the earth on both sides; whereas so much weight as those stones carry, should have sunk the ground under them by its pressure. Besides, that the earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase chiefly by the dust which the winds or brooks carry down from the hills; both which reasons should make a more sensible difference between those ways and the soil on both sides. And this makes me apt to believe, that anciently those ways were a little raised above the level of the ground; and that a course of so many ages hath now brought them to an equality. Those ways were chiefly made for such as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleasant than to walk along them, so nothing is more inconvenient for horses, and all sorts of carriage. And indeed mules are the only beasts of burden that can hold out long in this road; which
beats

beats all horses, after they have gone it a little while. There are several remains of Roman antiquities at the mole of Cajeta; but the isle of *Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way into the sea off from Naples, gave me a strange idea of Tiberius's reign; since it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary to see a prince abandon the best seats and palaces of Italy, and shut himself up in a little island, in which I was told there was a tradition of seven little palaces that he built in it; or to see so vast a body as the Roman empire so governed by such a tyrannical prince, at such a distance from the chief seat, so that all might have been reversed long before the news of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in story, than to see so vast a state, that had so great a sense of liberty, subdued by so brutal and so voluptuous a man as Anthony, and so raw a youth as Augustus; so the wonder is much improved, when we see a prince, at a hundred and fifty miles distance, shut up in an island, carry the reins of so great a body in his hand, and turn it which way he pleased.

But now I come to Rome, which as it was once the empress of the world in a succession of many ages, so it hath in it at present more curious things to entertain the attention of a traveller, than any other place in Europe. On the side of Tuscany, the entry into Rome is very surprising to strangers: for one cometh along, for a great many miles, upon the remains of the *Via Flaminia*; which is not indeed so entire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raise a just idea of the Roman greatness, who laid such causeys all Italy over. And within the gate of the *Porta di Populo*, there is a noble obelisk, a vast fountain, two fine little churches, like two twins, resembling one another, as well as placed near one another; and on several hands

hands one sees a long vista of streets. There is not a town in these parts of the world where the churches, convents, and palaces, are so noble, and where the other buildings are so mean; which indeed discovers very visibly the misery under which the Romans groan. The churches of Rome are so well known, that I will not adventure on any description of them; and indeed I had too transient a view of them, to make it with that degree of exactness which the subject requires. So Peter's alone would make a long letter, not to say a big book. Its length, height, and breadth, are all so exactly proportioned, and the eye is so equally possessed with all these, that the whole upon the first view doth not appear so vast as it is found to be upon a more particular attention: and as the four pillars, upon which the cupola rises, are of such a prodigious bigness, that one would think they were strong enough to bear any superstructure whatsoever; so when one climbs up to the top of that vast height, he wonders what foundation can bear so huge a weight: for as the church is of a vast height, so the cupola rises four hundred and fifteen large steps above the roof of the church. In the height of the concave of this cupola, there is a representation, that though it can hardly be seen from the floor below, unless one hath a good sight, and so it doth not perhaps give much scandal; yet it is a gross indication of the idolatry of that church: for the Divinity is there pictured as an ancient man compassed about with angels. I will say nothing of the great altar, of the chair of St. Peter, of the great tombs, of which the three chief are Paul III. Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. nor of the vast vaults under this church, and the remains of antiquity that are reserved in them; nor will I undertake a description of the adjoining palace, where the painting of the Corridori,

dori, and of many of the rooms by Raphael and Michael Angelo, are so rich, that one is sorry to see a work of that value laid on fresco, and which must by consequence wear out too soon, as in several places it is almost quite lost already. I could not but observe in the Sala Regia, that is before the famous chapel of Sixto V. and that is all painted in fresco, one corner that represents the murder of the renowned Admiral Chastillon, and that hath written under it these words, *Rex Colinii necem probat*. The vast length of the gallery on one side, and of the library on another, doth surprise one. The gardens have many statues of a most excessive value, and some good fountains; but the gardens are ill maintained both here and in the palace of the Quirinal. And indeed, in most of the palaces of Rome, if there were but a small cost laid out to keep all in good case that is brought together at so vast a charge, they would make another sort of shew, and be looked at with much more pleasure. In the apartments of Rome, there are a great many things that offend the sight. The doors are generally mean, and the locks meaner, except in the palace of Prince Borghese; where, as there is the vastest collection of the best pieces, and of the hands of the greatest masters that are in all Europe; so the doors and locks give not that distaste to the eye that one finds elsewhere. The flooring of the palace is all of brick; which is so very mean, that one sees the disproportion that is between the floors and the rest of the room, not without a sensible perception and dislike. It is true, they say their air is so cold and moist in winter, that they cannot pave with marble; and the heat is sometimes so great in summer, that a flooring of wood would crack with heat, as well as be ate up by the vermin that would nestle in it: but if they kept in their great palaces servants to wash their

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floors

floors with that care that is used in Holland, where the air is moister, and the climate more productive of vermin, they would not find such effects from wooden floors as they pretend. In a word, there are none that lay out so much wealth all at once as the Italians do upon the building and finishing of their palaces and gardens, and that afterwards bestow so little on the preserving of them. Another thing I observed in their palaces: There is indeed a great series of noble rooms one within another, of which their apartments are composed; but I did not find at the end of the apartments, where the bed-chamber is, such a disposition of rooms for back-stairs, dressing-rooms, closets, servants rooms, and other conveniencies, as are necessary for accommodating the apartment. It is true, this is not so necessary for an apartment of state, in which magnificence is more considered than convenience; but I found the same want in those apartments in which they lodged: so that, notwithstanding all the riches of their palaces, it cannot be said that they are well lodged in them. And their gardens are yet less understood, and worse kept than their palaces. It is true, the Villa Borghese ought to be excepted; where, as there is a prodigious collection of bas reliefs, with which the walls are as it were covered all over, that are of a vast value; so the statues within, of which some are of porphyry, and others of touchstone, are amazing things. The whole ground of this park, which is about three miles in compass, and in which there are six or seven lodges, is laid out so sweetly, that I thought I was in an English park when I walked over it. The Villa Pamphilia is better situated, upon a higher ground, and hath more water-works, and twice the extent of the other in soil; but neither doth the house nor statues approach to the riches of the other, nor is the ground

ground so well laid out, nor so well kept. But for the furniture of the palaces of Rome, the public apartments are all covered over with pictures: and as for those apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furnished either with red velvet or red damask, with a broad gold galloon at every breadth of the stuff, and a gold fringe at top and bottom; but there is very little tapestry in Italy.

I have been carried into all this digression, from the general view that I was giving you of the Pope's palace. I named one part of it, which will engage me into a new digression, as it well deserves one; and that is the library of the Vatican. The case is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a collection of books that filleth a man's eye. There is first a great hall, and at the end of it there run out on both sides two galleries of so vast a length, that though the half of them is already furnished with books, yet one would hope, that there is room left for more new books than the world will ever produce. The Heidelberg library stands by itself, and filleth one side of the gallery; as the Duke of Urbin's library of manuscripts filleth the other. But though these last are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of such antiquity as those of Heidelberg. When it appeared that I was come from England, King Henry VIII.'s book of the *seven sacraments*, with an inscription writ upon it with his own hand to Pope Leo X. was shewed me, together with a collection of some letters that he writ to Anna Bullen, of which some are in English and some in French. I, that knew his hand well, saw clearly that they were no forgeries. There are not many Latin manuscripts of great antiquity in this library; some few of Virgil's I saw writ in capitals. But that which took up almost half of one day that I spent at one time in this place, related to the present

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sent dispute which is on foot between Mr Schelstrat the library-keeper, and Mr Maimbourg, concerning the council of Constance. The two points in debate are, the words of the decree made in the fourth session, and the Pope's confirmation. In the fourth session, according to the French manuscripts, a decree was made, subjecting the Pope, and all other persons whatsoever, to the authority of the council, and to the decrees it was to make, and to the reformation it intended to establish both in the head and the members; which, as it implies that the head was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, so it sets the council so directly above the Pope, that this session, being confirmed by the Pope, putteth those who assert the Pope's infallibility to no small straits. For if Pope Martin, that approved this decree, was infallible, then this decree is good still; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was infallible. To all this Schelstrat answers from his manuscripts, That the words, *Of a reformation in head and members*, are not in the decree of that session: and he did shew me several manuscripts, of which two were evidently writ during the sitting of the council, and were not at all dashed, in which these words were not. I know the hand and way of writing of that age too well, to be easily mistaken in my judgment concerning those manuscripts. But if those words are wanting, there are other words in them that seem to be much stronger for the superiority of the council above that Pope; for it is decreed, that *Popes, and all other persons, were bound to submit to the decisions of the council as to faith*; which words are not in the French manuscripts. Upon this I told Mr Schelstrat, that I thought the words in these manuscripts were stronger than the other; since the word *reformation*, as it was used in the time of that council, belonged chiefly to the correcting of abuses;

uses, it being often applied to the regulations that were made in the monastic orders, when they were brought to a more exact observation of the rules of their order: so though the council had decreed a reformation both of head and members, I do not see that this would import more, than that the papacy had fallen into some disorders that needed a reformation; and this is not denied even by those who assert the Pope's infallibility. But a submission to points of faith, that is expressly asserted in the Roman manuscripts, is a much more positive evidence against the Pope's infallibility; and the word *faith* is not capable of so large a sense, as may be justly ascribed to *reformation*. But this difference in so main a point, between manuscripts concerning so late a transaction, gave me an occasion to reflect on the vast uncertainty of tradition, especially of matters that are at a great distance from us; when those that were so lately transacted, are so differently represented in manuscripts, and in which both those of Paris and Rome seem to carry all possible evidences of sincerity. As for the Pope's confirmation of that decree, it is true, by a general bull Pope Martin confirmed the council of Constance to such a period: but, besides that, he made a particular bull, as Schelstrate assured me, in which he enumerated all the decrees that he confirmed; and among those, this decree concerning the superiority of the council is not named. This seemed to be of much more importance, and therefore I desired to see the original of the bull; for there seem to be just reasons to apprehend a forgery here. He promised to do his endeavour; though he told me that would not be easy, for the bulls were strictly kept: and the next day when I came hoping to see it, I could not be admitted; but he assured me, that if that had not been the last day of my stay at Rome, he would have procured

cured a warrant for my seeing the original: So this is all I can say as to the authenticity of that bull. But supposing it to be genuine, I could not agree with Mr Schelftrat, that the general bull of confirmation ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular decrees: for since that particular bull was never discovered till he found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the forms of the consistory, and was a fraudulent thing, of which no noise was to be made in that age; and therefore, in all the dispute that followed in the council of Basil between the Pope and the council upon this very point, no mention was ever made of it by either side: and thus it can have no force, unless it be to discover the artifices and fraud of that court; that at the same time in which the necessity of their affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the decrees of the council, he contrived a secret bull, which in another age might be made use of to weaken the authority of the general confirmation that he gave; and therefore a bull that doth not pass in due form, and is not promulgated, is of no authority; and so this pretended bull cannot limit the other bull. There were some other things relating to this debate that were shewed me by Mr Schelftrat; but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large account of the learned men at Rome. Bellori is deservedly famous for his knowledge of the Greek and Egyptian antiquities, and for all that belongs to the mythologies and superstitions of the Heathens; and hath a closet richly furnished with things relating to those matters. Fabretti is justly celebrated for his understanding of the old Roman architecture and fabrics. Padre Fabri is the chief honour of the Jesuits college; and is much above the common rate both for philosophy, mathematics, and church-

church-history. And he to whom I was the most obliged, Abbot Nazari, hath so general a view of the several parts of learning, though he hath chiefly applied himself to philosophy and mathematics, and is a man of so engaging a civility, and used me in so particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as those others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the honour to see, all the acknowledgments of esteem and gratitude that I can possibly make them.

One sees in Cardinal d'Estree all the advantages of a high birth, great parts, a generous civility, and a measure of knowledge far above what can be expected from a person of his rank : but as he gave a noble protection to one of the most learned men that this age hath produced, Mr Launoy, who lived many years with him ; so it is visible, that he made a great progress by the conversation of so extraordinary a person. And as for theological learning, there is now none of the college equal to him. Cardinal Howard is too well known in England, to need any character from me. The elevation of his present condition hath not in the least changed him : he hath all the sweetness and gentleness of temper that we saw in him in England ; and he retains the unaffected simplicity and humility of a frier, amidst all the dignity of the purple. And as he sheweth all the generous care and concern for his countrymen that they can expect from him ; so I met with so much of it, in so many obliging marks of his goodness to myself, that went far beyond a common civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told, the Pope's confessor was a very extraordinary man for the Oriental learning, which is but little known in Rome. He is a master of the Arabic tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot Nazari told me, the most learned book against the Mahometan religion that the

the world hath yet seen, but it is not yet printed. He is not so much esteemed in Rome, as he would be elsewhere; for his learning is not in vogue. And the school-divinity, and casuistical learning, being that for which divines are most esteemed there, he whose studies lead him another way is not so much valued as he ought to be. And perhaps the small account that the Pope makes of learned men turns somewhat upon the confessor; for it is certain, that this is a reign in which learning is very little encouraged.

Upon the general contempt that all the Romans have for the present pontificate, one made a pleasant reflection to me. He said, those Popes that intended to raise their families, as they saw the censure that this brought upon them; so they studied to lessen it by other things that might soften the spirits of the people. No man did more for beautifying Rome, for finishing St Peter's and the library, and for furnishing Rome with water, than Pope Paul V.; though, at the same time, he did not forget his family. And though the other Popes, that have raised great families, have not done this to so eminent a degree as he did; yet there are many remains of their magnificence: whereas those Popes that have not raised families, have, it seems, thought that alone was enough to maintain their reputation; and so they have not done much, either to recommend their government to their subjects, or their reign to posterity. And it is very plain, that the present Pope taketh no great care of this. His life hath been certainly very innocent, and free from all those public scandals that make a noise in the world: and there is at present a regularity in Rome, that deserveth great commendation; for public vices are not to be seen there. His personal sobriety is also singular. One assured me, that the expence of his table did not
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amount to a crown a-day ; though this is indeed short of Sixto V. who gave order to his steward never to exceed five and twenty bajokes, that is, eighteen pence a-day, for his diet. The Pope is very careful of his health, and doth never expose it ; for upon the least disorder he shuts himself up in his chamber, and often keepeth his bed for the least indisposition many days : but his government is severe, and his subjects are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind, which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the poverty of a nation not only dispeoples it, by driving the people out of it, but by weakening the natural fertility of the subjects : for as men and women well clothed, and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual labour, and with the tearing anxieties that want brings with it, must be more lively than those that are pressed with want ; so it is very likely, that the one must be much more disposed to propagate than the other. And this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the fruitfulness of Geneva and Switzerland with the barrenness that reigns over all Italy. I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious productions of Geneva. Mr Tronchin, that was Professor of Divinity, and father to the judicious and worthy Professor of the same name that is now there, died at the age of seventy-six years, and had a hundred and fifteen persons all alive, that had either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him, called him father. And Mr Calendrin, a pious and laborious preacher of that town, that is descended from the family of the Calendrini, who, receiving the reformation about a hundred and fifty years ago, left Lucca their native city, with the Turretini, the Diodati, and the Bourlamachi, and some others that came and settled at Geneva ; he is now but seven and forty years old,

old, and yet he hath a hundred and five persons that are descended of his brothers and sisters, or married to them. So that, if he liveth but to eighty, and the family multiplieth as it hath done, he may see some hundreds that will be in the same relation to him. But such things as these are not to be found in Italy.

There is nothing that delights a stranger more in Rome, than to see the great fountains of water that are almost in all the corners of it. That old aqueduct which Paul V. restored, cometh from a collection of sources five and thirty miles distant from Rome, that runs all the way upon an aqueduct in a canal that is vaulted, and is liker a river than a fountain. It breaketh out in five several fountains, of which some give water about a foot square. That of Sixtus V. the great fountain of Aqua Travi, that hath yet no decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious quantity of water; the glorious fountain in the Piazza Navona, that hath an air of greatness in it that surpriseth one; the fountain in the Piazza de Spagna, those before St Peter's, and the Palazzo Farnese, with many others, furnish Rome so plentifully, that almost every private house hath a fountain that runs continually. All these, I say, are noble decorations, that carry an usefulness with them that cannot be enough commended; and give a much greater idea of those who have taken care to supply this city with one of the chief pleasures and conveniences of life, than of others, who have laid out millions merely to bring quantities of water to give the eye a little diversion; which would have been laid out much more nobly and usefully, and would have more effectually eternized their fame, if they had been employed, as the Romans did their treasures, in furnishing great towns with water.

There is an universal civility that reigns among
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all sorts of people at Rome; which, in a great measure, flows from their government: for every man being capable of all the advancements of that state, since a simple ecclesiastic may become one of the Monsignori, and one of these may be a Cardinal, and one of these may be chosen Pope; this makes every man behave himself towards all other persons with an exactness of respect; for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes professions of esteem and kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The conversation of Rome is generally upon news: for though there is no news printed there, yet, in the several antichambers of the Cardinals, (where, if they make any considerable figure, there are assemblies of those that make their court to them), one is sure to hear all the news of Europe, together with many speculations upon what passeth. At the Queen of Sweden's, all that relateth to Germany, or the north, is ever to be found; and that princess, that must ever reign among all that have a true taste either of wit or learning, hath still in her drawing-rooms the best court of the strangers; and her civility, together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her conversation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living rarities that one sees in Rome. I will not use her own words to myself, which were, *That she now grew to be one of the antiquities of Rome.* The ambassadors of crowns, who live here in another form than in any other court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of the several nations that do all meet and center here, make that there is more news in Rome than any where: for priests, and the men of religious orders, write larger and more particular letters, than any other sort of men. But such as apply themselves to make their court here, are condemned to a loss of time that

that had need be well recompensed, for it is very great. As for one that studies antiquities, pictures, statues, or music, there is more entertainment for him at Rome, than in all the rest of Europe; but if he hath not a taste of these things, he will soon be weary of a place where the conversation is always general, and where there is little sincerity or openness practised, and, by consequence, where friendship is little understood. The women here begin to be a little more conversable; though a nation naturally jealous will hardly allow a great liberty in a city that is composed of ecclesiastics, who, being denied the privilege of wives of their own, are suspected sometimes of being too bold with the wives of others. The liberties that were taken in the Constable of Naples's palace had indeed disgusted the Romans much at that freedom which had no bounds. But the Duchess of Bracciano, that is a Frenchwoman, hath, by the exactness of her deportment amidst all the innocent freedoms of a noble conversation, recovered, in a great measure, the credit of those liberties that ladies beyond the mountains practise with all the strictness of virtue: for she receiveth visits at public hours, and in public rooms; and, by the liveliness of her conversation, maketh that her court is the pleasantest assembly of strangers that is to be found in any of the palaces of the Italians at Rome.

I will not engage in a description of Rome, either ancient or modern. This hath been done so oft, and with such exactness, that nothing can be added to what hath been already published. It is certain, that when one is in the capitol, and sees those poor remains of what once it was, he is surpris'd to see a building of so great a fame sunk so low, that one can scarce imagine that it was once a castle situated upon a hill, able to hold out against

against a siege of the Gauls. The Tarpeian rock is now of so small a fall, that a man would think it no great matter, for his diversion, to leap over it. And the shape of the ground hath not been so much altered on one side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other: for Severus's triumphal arch, which is at the foot of the hill on the other side, is not now buried above two foot within the ground; as the vast amphitheatre of Titus is not above three foot sunk under the level of the ground. Within the capitol one sees many noble remnants of antiquity; but none is more glorious, as well as more useful, than the tables of their consuls, which are upon the walls; and the inscription on the Columna Rostrata in the time of the first Punic war, is, without doubt, the most valuable antiquity in Rome. From this, all along the Sacred Way, one findeth such remnants of old Rome, in the ruins of the temples, in the triumphal arches, in the porticos, and other remains of that glorious body; that as one cannot see these too often, so every time one sees them, they kindle in him vast ideas of that republic, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his youth with great pleasure. From the height of the convent of Araceli, a man hath a full view of all the extent of Rome: but literally it is now *Seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the parts of the city that were most inhabited anciently, are those that are now laid in great gardens, or, as they call them, vineyards, of which some are half a mile in compass. The vastness of the Roman magnificence and luxury is that which passeth imagination. The prodigious amphitheatre of Titus, that could conveniently receive eighty-five thousand spectators; the great extent of the Circus Maximus; the vaults where the waters were reserved that furnished Titus's baths; and, above all, Dioclesian's baths, though built when the em-

pire was in its decay, are so far above all modern buildings, that there is not so much as room for a comparison. The extent of those baths is above half a mile in compass; the vastness of the rooms, in which the bathers might swim, of which the Carthusians church, that yet remains entire, is one, and the many great pillars, all of one stone of marble, beautifully spotted, are things of which these latter ages are not capable. The beauty of their temples, and of the porticos before them, is amazing; chiefly that of the Rotunda, where the fabric without looketh as mean, being only brick, as the architecture is bold; for it riseth up in a vault, and yet at the top there is an open left of thirty foot in diameter; which, as it is the only window of the church, so it filleth it with light, and is the hardiest piece of architecture that ever was made. The pillars of the portico are also the noblest in Rome; they are the highest and biggest that one can see any where all of one stone: and the numbers of those ancient pillars, with which not only many of the churches are beautified, chiefly St Mary Maggiore, and St John in the Lateran, but with which even private houses are adorned, and of the fragments of which there are such multitudes in all the streets of Rome, give a great idea of the profuseness of the old Romans in their buildings; for the hewing and fetching a few of those pillars must have cost more than whole palaces do now, since most of them were brought from Greece. Many of these pillars are of porphyry, others of jasp, others of granated marble; but the greatest number is of white marble. The two columns, Trajan's and Antonin's; the two horses that are in the mount Cavallo, and the other two horses in the capitol, which have not indeed the postures and motion of the other; the brass horse that, as is believed, carrieth Marcus Aurelius;

lius; the remains of Nero's colossus; the temple of Bacchus, near the catacomb of St Agnes, which is the entirest, and the least altered of all the ancient temples; the great temple of Peace, those of the Sun and Moon, that of Romulus and Rhe-mus, (which I considered as the ancientest fabric that is now left; for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a place, that when Rome grew so costly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was revered for its antiquity); the many other porticos; the arches of Severus, of Titus, and Constantine; in the last of which one sees, that the sculpture of his age was much sunk from what it had been; only in the top there are some bas reliefs, that are clearly of a much ancients time, and of a better manner: and that which exceeded all the rest, the many great aqueducts that come from all hands, and run over a vast distance, are things which a man cannot see oft enough, if he would form in himself a just idea of the vastness of that republic, or rather empire. There are many statues and pillars, and other antiquities of great value, dug up in all the quarters of Rome, these last hundred and fourscore years, since Pope Leo X.'s time; who, as he was the greatest patron of learning and arts that perhaps ever was, so he was the most generous prince that ever reigned: and it was he that first set on foot the inquiring into the riches of old Rome, that lay till his time, for the most part, hid under ground. And indeed, if he had been less scandalous in his impiety and atheism, of which neither he nor his court were so much as ashamed, he had been one of the most celebrated persons of any age. Soon after him, Pope Paul III. gave the ground of the Monte Palatino to his family: but I was told, that this large piece of ground, in which one should look for the greatest collection of the antiquities of the

highest value, since this is the ruin of the palace of the Roman Emperors, hath never been yet searched into with any exactness. So that, when a curious prince cometh, that is willing to employ many hands in digging up and down this hill, we may expect new scenes of Roman antiquities. But all this matter would require volumes; and therefore I have only named these things, because I can add nothing to those copious descriptions that have been so oft made of them. Nor will I say any thing of the modern palaces, or the ornaments of them, either in pictures or statues; which are things that carry one so far, that it is not easy to give bounds to the descriptions into which one findeth himself carried, when he once enters upon so fruitful a subject. The number of the palaces is great; and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts. It is true, the Palestrina, the Borghese, and the Farnese, have somewhat in them that leaves an impression which no new objects can wear out: and as the last hath a noble square before it, with two great fountains in it; so the statue of Hercules and the bull, that are below, and the gallery above stairs, are invaluable. The roof of the gallery is one of the best pieces of painting that is extant, being all of Carraccio's hand; and there is in that gallery the greatest number of heads of the Greek philosophers and poets that I ever saw together. That of Homer, and that of Socrates, were the two that struck me most, chiefly the latter; which, as it is, without dispute, a true antique, so it carrieth in it all the characters that Plato and Xenophon give us of Socrates: the flat nose, the broad face, the simplicity of look, and the mean appearance which that great philosopher made; so that I could not return oft enough to look upon it; and was delighted with

with this more than with all the wonders of the bell; which is indeed a rock of marble, cut out into a whole scene of statues: but as the history of it is not well known, so there are such faults in the sculpture, that though it is all extremely fine, yet one seeth it hath not the exactness of the best times. As for the churches and convents of Rome, as the number, the vastness, the riches, both of fabrie, furniture, painting, and other ornaments, amaze one; so here again a stranger is lost, and the convent that one seeth last is always the most admired. I confess, the Minerva, which is the Dominicans, where the inquisition sitteth, is that which maketh the most sensible impression upon one that passeth at Rome for an heretic; though, except one committeth great follies, he is in no danger there; and the poverty that reigns in that city maketh them find their interest so much in using strangers well, whatsoever their religion may be, that no man needs be afraid there. And I have more than ordinary reason to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken in writing my thoughts freely both of the church and see of Rome, and was known by all with whom I conversed there; yet met with the highest civilities possible among all sorts of people, and in particular both among the English and Scottish Jesuits, though they knew well enough that I was no friend to their order.

In the gallery of the English Jesuits, among the pictures of their martyrs, I did not meet with Garnet; for perhaps that name is so well known, that they would not expose a picture with such a name on it to all strangers: yet Oldcorn, being a name less known, is hung there among their martyrs, though he was as clearly convicted of the gunpowder-treason as the other was. And it seemed a little strange to me to see, that at a time in which, for

other reasons, the writers of that communion have not thought fit to deny the truth of that conspiracy, a Jesuit convicted of the blackest crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among their martyrs. I saw likewise there the original of those emblematical prophecies relating to England, that the Jesuits have had at Rome near sixty years, and of which I had some time ago procured a copy; so I found my copy was true. I happened to be at Rome during St Gregory's fair and feast, which lasted several days. In his church the *bossie* was exposed; and from that all that came thither went to the chapel, that was once his house, in which his statue, and the table where he served the poor, are preserved. I saw such vast numbers of people there, that one would have thought all Rome was got together. They all kneeled down to his statue; and, after a prayer said to it, they kissed his foot, and every one touched the table with his beads, as hoping to draw some virtue from it. I will add nothing of the several obelisks and pillars that are in Rome; of the celebrated chapels that are in some of the great churches, in particular those of Sixtus V. and Paul V. in Santa Maria Maggiore; of the water-works in the Quirinal, the Vatican, and in many of the vineyards: nor will I go out of Rome to describe Frascati, (for Tivoli I did not see). The young Prince Borghese, who is indeed one of the glories of Rome, as well for his learning as for his virtue, did me the honour to carry me thither with those two learned Abbots, Fabretti and Nazari, and entertained me with a magnificence that became him better to give than me to receive. The water-works in the Aldobrandin palace have a magnificence in them beyond all that I ever saw in France; the mixture of wind with the water, and the thunder and storms that this maketh, is noble. The water-works of the

the Ludovisio, and the Monte Dragone, have likewise a greatness in them that is natural. And indeed, the riches that one meets with in all places within doors in Italy, and the poverty that one seeth every where abroad, are the most unsuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely, that a great part of their moveable wealth will be ere long carried into France; for as soon as any picture or statue of great value is offered to be sold, those that are employed by the King of France presently buy it up: so that, as that King hath already the greatest collection of pictures that is in Europe, he will very probably, in a few years more, bring together the chief treasures of Italy.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared most remarkable to me at Rome. I shall to this add a very extraordinary piece of natural history, that fell out there within these two years; which I had first from those two learned Abbots, Fabretti and Nazari, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal Howard, who was one of the congregation of Cardinals that examined and judged the matter. There were two nuns near Rome, one, as I remember, was in the city, and the other not far from it; who, after, they had been for some years in a nunnery, perceived a very strange change in nature; and that their sex was altered, which grew by some degrees to a total alteration in one; and though the other was not so entire a change, yet it was visible that she was more man than woman. Upon this the matter was looked into. That which naturally offereth itself here, is, *That these two had been always what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a nunnery in a disguise to gratify a brutal appetite.* But to this, when I proposed it, answer was made, That as the breasts of a woman that remained still, did in a great measure shake
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off that objection ; so the proofs were given so fully of their having been real females, that there was no doubt left of that ; nor had they given any sort of scandal in the change of their sex : and if there had been any room left to suspect a cheat or disguise, the proceedings would have been both more severe and more secret, and these persons would have been burnt, or at least put to death in some terrible manner. Some physicians and surgeons were appointed to examine the matter ; and at last, after a long and exact inquiry, they were judged to be absolved from their vows, and were dismissed from the obligation of a religious life, and required to go in mens habits. One of them was a valet de chambre to a Roman Marquis when I was there. I heard of this matter only two days before I left Rome, so that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly ; but I judged it so extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to so curious an inquirer into nature.

And since I am upon the subject of the changes that have been made in nature, I shall add one of another sort, that I examined while I was at Geneva. There is a minister of St Gervais, Mr Gody, who hath a daughter that is now sixteen years old. Her nurse had an extraordinary thickness of hearing. At a year old the child spoke all those little words that children begin usually to learn at that age, but she made no progress ; yet this was not observed till it was too late : and as she grew to be two years old, they perceived then that she had lost her hearing, and was so deaf, that ever since, though she hears great noises, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems, while the milk of her nurse was more abundant, and that the child sucked more moderately the first year, those humours in the blood and milk had not that effect on her that appeared after she came to suck
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more violently; and that her nurse's milk, being in less quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that vapour that occasioned the deafness. But this child hath, by observing the motions of the mouths and lips of others, acquired so many words, that out of these she hath formed a sort of jargon, in which she can hold conversation whole days with those that can speak her own language. I could understand some of her words, but could not comprehend a period; for it seemed to be a confused noise. She knows nothing that is said to her, unless she seeth the motion of their mouths that speak to her; so that, in the night, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a candle. Only one thing appeared the strangest part of the whole narration: she hath a sister, with whom she has practised her language more than with any other; and in the night, by laying her hand on her sister's mouth, she can perceive by that what she says, and so can discourse with her in the night. It is true, her mother told me, that this did not go far; and that she found out only some short period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long. Thus this young woman, without any pains taken on her, hath merely by a natural sagacity found out a method of holding discourse, that doth in a great measure lessen the misery of her deafness. I examined this matter critically; but only the sister was not present, so that I could not see how the conversation passed between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning Rome, I cannot hinder myself from giving you an account of a conversation that I had with one of the most celebrated persons that lives in it. I was talking concerning the credit that the order of the Jesuits had every where. It was said, that *all the world mistrusted them*; and yet, by a strange sort of contradiction, *all the world trusted them*. And though it

it was well known that every Jesuit was truer to the interests of his order than he could be to the interests of any prince whatsoever; yet those princes that would be very careful not to suffer spies to come into their courts, or into their councils, suffered those spies to come into their breasts and consciences: and though princes were not generally very tender in those parts, yet as they had often as much guilt, so they had sometimes as much fear as other people, which a dexterous spy knew well how to manage. Upon which that person, that pretended to be a zealous Catholic, added, that for their part they considered only the character that the church gave to a priest; and if the church qualified him to do the functions of a priest, they thought it very needless to inquire after other personal qualities, which were but common things, whereas the other was all divine: on the contrary, they thought it was so much the better to have to do with a poor ignorant priest; for then they had to do only with the church, and not with the man. Pursuant to this, that person's confessor was the greatest and the most notorious blockhead that could be found. And when they were asked, *Why they made use of so weak a man?* they answered, *Because they could not find a weaker:* and whenever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a groom or a footman that got into priests orders, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask counsel of a friend; but they knew no other use of a confessor, but to confess to him, and to receive absolution from him; and, in so doing, they pretended they acted as became true Catholics, that considered only the power of the church in the priest, without regarding any thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the short ramble that I made, which was too short to deserve the name of travelling; and therefore the inquiries

inquiries or observations that I could make, must be received with the abatement that ought to be made for so short a stay : and all will be of a piece, when the remarks are as slight as the abode I made in the places through which I past was short. As I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known, so, if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters, yet I have told you nothing but what I saw and knew to be true, or that I had from such hands that I have very good reason to believe it. And I fancy, that the things which made the greatest impression on myself, will be acceptably received by you ; to whom, as, upon many accounts, I owe all the expressions of esteem and gratitude that I can ever pay ; so I had a more particular reason that determined me to give you so full an account of all that I saw and observed : for as you were pleased at parting, to do me the honour, to desire me to communicate to you such things as appeared most remarkable to me ; so I found such a vast advantage in many places, but more particularly at Venice, Rome, and Naples, by the happiness I have of being known to you, and of being so far considered by you, that I could give a copious account both of your person and studies, to those in whom your curious discoveries had kindled that esteem for you, which all the world payeth both to you and to your immortal inquiries into nature, which are among the peculiar blessings of this age, and that are read with no less care and pleasure in Italy than in England. This was so well received, that I found the great advantage of this honour I did myself in assuming the glorious title of one of your friends ; and I owe a great part of that distinction which I met with to this favourable character that I gave myself : so that, if I made any progress in the inquiries that so short a stay could enable one to make;

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I owe it in so peculiar a manner to you, that this return that I make is but a very small part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the last moment of my life.

Rome, Dec. 8. 1685.

Letter

L E T T E R V.

S I R,

I Thought I had made so full a point at the conclusion of my last letter, that I should not have given you the trouble of reading any more letters of the volume of the former: but new scenes and new matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I engage you again to two or three hours reading.

From Civita Vecchia I came to Marseilles, where, if there were a road as safe as the harbour is covered, and if the harbour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the most important places in the world. All is so well defended, that it is, with respect either to storms or enemies, the securest port that can be seen any where. The freedoms of this place, though it is now at the mercy of the citadel, are such, and its situation draweth so much trade to it, that there one seeth another appearance of wealth than I found in any town of France; and there is a new street lately built there, that, for the beauty of the buildings, and the largeness of the street, is the noblest I ever saw. There is in that port a perpetual heat; and the sun was so strong in the Christmas week, that I was often driven off the key. I made a tour from thence through Provence, Languedoc, and Dauphiné.

Dauphiné. I will offer you no account of Nîmes, nor of the amphitheatre in it, or the Pont du Gar near it; which, as they are stupendious things, so they are so copiously described by many, and are so generally known to the English nation, that if you have never gone that way yourself, yet you must needs have received so particular a relation of them from those that have seen them on their way to Montpellier, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them: nor will I say any thing of the soil, the towns, or any other remarkable things that I found there.

I have a much stronger inclination to say somewhat concerning the persecution which I saw in its utmost rage and fury, and of which I could give you many instances, that are so much beyond all the common measures of barbarity and cruelty, that I confess they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive proofs of them than are sitting now to be brought forth: and the particulars that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them with the necessary circumstances of time, place, and persons, these might be so fatal to many that are yet in the power of their enemies, that my regard to them restrains me. In short, I do not think that in any age there ever was such a violation of all that is sacred, either with relation to God or man; and what I saw and knew there from the first hand, hath so confirmed all the ideas that I had taken from books of the cruelty of that religion, that I hope the impression that this hath made upon me shall never end but with my life. The applauses that the whole clergy give to this way of proceeding, the many panegyrics that are already writ upon it, of which, besides the more pompous ones that appear at Paris, there are numbers writ by smaller authors in every town of any note there; and the sermons, that are all flights of

flattery upon this subject, are such evident demonstrations of their sense of this matter, that what is now on foot may be well termed, *the act of the whole clergy of France*; which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate part of the Roman communion. If any are more moderate than others, and have not so far laid off the human nature, as to go in entirely into those bloody practices; yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in secret, as if it were half treason: but for the greater part, they do not only magnify all that is done, but they animate even the dragoons to higher degrees of rage. And there was such a heat spread over all the country on this occasion, that one could not go into any ordinary, or mix in any promiscuous conversation, without finding such effects of it, that it was not easy for such as were touched with the least degree of compassion for the miseries that the poor Protestants suffered, to be a witness to the insultings that they must meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagine, that this hath not been approved in Italy; and it is true, there were not any public rejoicings upon it at Rome, no indulgencies nor *Te Deums* were heard of. And the Spanish faction being so prevalent there, it is not strange if a course of proceedings that is without an example was set forth by all that were of that interest in its proper colours: of which I met with some instances myself; and could not but smile, to see some of the Spanish faction so far forget their courts of inquisition, as to argue against the conversions by dragoons as a reproach to the Catholic religion. Yet the Pope was of another mind: for the Duke d'Estree gave him an account of the King's proceedings in this matter very copiously, as he himself related it; upon which the Pope approved all, and expressed a great satisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that matter;

ter ; and the Pope added, that he found some Cardinals (as I remember the Duke d'Estrée said too) were not pleased with it, and had taken the liberty to censure it ; but the Pope said they were to blame. The Duke d'Estrée did not name the two Cardinals, though he said he believed he knew who they were : and it is very likely that Cardinal Pio was one ; for I was told that he spoke freely enough of this matter. I must take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not see that the French King is to be so much blamed in this matter, as his religion ; which, without question, obligeth him to extirpate heretics, and not to keep his faith with them : so that, instead of censuring him, I must only lament his being bred up in a religion that doth certainly oblige him to divest himself of humanity, and to violate his faith, whensoever the cause of his church, and his religion require it : or if there is any thing in this conduct that cannot be entirely justified from the principles of that religion, it is this, that he doth not put the heretics to death out of hand ; but forceth them, by all the extremities possible, to sign an abjuration, that all the world must needs see is done against their consciences ; and this being the only end of their miseries, those that would think any sort of death a happy conclusion of their sufferings, seeing no prospect of such a glorious issue out of their trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingering deaths, of which they see no end, to make *shipwreck of the faith*. This appearance of mercy, in not putting men to death, doth truly verify the character that Solomon giveth of the tender mercies of the wicked, that *they are cruel*.

But I will stop here, though it is not easy to retire from so copious a subject ; that as it affordeth so much matter, so upon many accounts raiseth a heat of thought that is not easily governed. I will

now lead you to a scene that giveth less passion.

I passed the winter at Geneva with more satisfaction than I had thought it was possible for me to have found any where out of England, though that received great allays from the most lamentable stories that we had every day from France. But *there is a sorrow by which the heart is made better*. I ought to make the most public acknowledgments possible for the extraordinary civilities that I met with in my own particular; but that is too low a subject to entertain you with. That which pleased me most was of a more public nature. Before I left Geneva, the number of the English there was such, that I found we could make a small congregation, for we were twelve or fourteen. So I addressed myself to the council of ~~twenty-five~~, for liberty to have our own worship in our own language, according to the English liturgy. This was immediately granted in so obliging a manner, that as there was not one person that made any exception to it, so they sent one of their body to me, to let me know, that in case our number should grow to be so great that it were fit for us to assemble in a church, they would grant us one which had been done in Queen Mary's reign; but till then, we might hold our assemblies as we thought fit. So, after that time, during the rest of my stay there, we had every Sunday our devotions according to the common prayer morning and evening; and at the evening-prayer I preached in a room that was indeed too large for our small company: but there being a considerable number in Geneva that understand English, and in particular some of the professors and ministers, we had a great many strangers that met with us; and the last Sunday I gave the sacrament according to the way of the church of England: and upon this occasion I found a general joy in the town for this, that I
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had given them an opportunity of expressing the respect they had for our church. And as in their public prayers they always prayed for the churches of Great Britain, as well as for the King; so in private discourse they shewed all possible esteem for our constitutions: and they spoke of the unhappy divisions among us, and of the separation that was made from us upon the account of our government and ceremonies, with great regret and dislike. I shall name to you only two of their Professors, that as they are men of great distinction, so they were the persons with whom I conversed the most. The one is Mr Turretin, a man of great learning, that, by his indefatigable study and labour, has much worn out and wasted his strength, amidst all the affluence of a great plenty of fortune to which he was born. One discerns in him all the modesty of an humble and mortified temper, and of an active and fervent charity, proportioned to his abundance, or rather beyond it: and there is in him such a melting zeal for religion as the present conjuncture calls for, with all the seriousness of piety and devotion; which shews itself both in private conversation, and in his most edifying sermons, by which he enters deep into the consciences of his hearers. The other is Mr Tronchin, a man of a strong head, and of a clear and correct judgment, who has all his thoughts well digested; his conversation has an engaging charm in it, that cannot be resisted: he is a man of extraordinary virtue, and of a readiness to oblige and serve all persons, that has scarce any measures; his sermons have a sublimity in them that strikes the hearer, as well as it edifies him; his thoughts are noble, and his eloquence is masculine and exact, and has all the majesty of the chair in it, tempered with all the softness of persuasion; so that he not only convinces his hearers, but subdues them, and triumphs over

them. In such company it was no wonder if time seemed to go off too fast; so that I left Geneva with a concern that I could not have felt in leaving any place out of the isle of Britain.

From Geneva I went a second time through Switzerland to Basil. At Avanehe I saw the noble fragments of a great Roman work, which seems to have been the portico to some temple. The heads of the pillars are about four foot square, of the Ionic order. The temple hath been dedicated to Neptune, or some sea-god: for on the fragments of the architrave, which are very beautiful, there are dolphins and sea-horses in bas reliefs; and the neighbourhood of the place to the lakes of Iverdun and Morat maketh this more evident. There is also a pillar standing up in its full height, or rather the corner of a building, in which one seeth the remains of a regular architecture in two ranks of pillars. If the ground near this were carefully searched, no doubt it would discover more remains of that fabric. Not far from this is Morat; and a little on this side of it is a chapel full of the bones of the Burgundians that were killed by the Switzers, when this place was besieged by the famous Charles Duke of Burgundy, who lost a great army before it, that was entirely cut off by the besieged. The inscription is very extraordinary, especially for that age: for the bones being so piled up, that the chapel is quite filled with them, the inscription bears, that Charles Duke of Burgundy's army having besieged Morat, *Hoc sui monumentum reliquit*, "had left that monument behind it." It cannot but seem strange to one that views Morat, to imagine how it was possible for a town so situated, and so slightly fortified, to hold out against so powerful a prince, and so great an army, that brought cannon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and Basil, except that I staid some time
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at Bern, and knew it better; and at this second time it was, that my Lord Advoyer d'Erlach gave order to shew me the original records of the famous process of the four Dominicans: upon which I have retouched the letter that I writ to you last year; so that I now send it to you with the corrections and enlargements that this second stay at Bern gave me occasion to make.

Basil is the town of the greatest extent of all Switzerland, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The Rhine maketh a crook before it; and the town is situated on a rising ground, which hath a noble effect on the eye when one is on the bridge, for it looketh like a theatre. Little Basil, on the other side of the Rhine, is almost a fourth part of the whole. The town is surrounded with a wall and ditch; but it is exposed on so many sides, and hath now so dreadful a neighbour within a quarter of a league of it, the fort of Hunningen, that it hath nothing to trust to, humanly speaking, but its union with the other cantons. The maxims of this canton have hindered its being better peopled than it is. The advantages of the burghership are such, that the citizens will not share them with strangers, and by this means they do not admit them. For I was told, that during the last war, that Alsatia was so often the seat of both armies, Basil having then a neutrality, it might have been well filled, if it had not been for this maxim. And it were a great happiness to all the cantons, if they could have different degrees of burghership, so that the lower degrees might be given to strangers for their encouragement to come and live among them; and the higher degrees, which qualify men for the advantageous employments of the state, might be reserved for the ancient families of the natives. Basil is divided into sixteen companies, and every one of these hath
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four members in the little council, so that it consisteth of sixty-four: but of those four, two are chosen by the company itself, who are called the *masters*, and the other two are chosen by the council out of the company. And thus, as there are two sorts of counsellors chosen in those different manners, there are also two chief magistrates. There are two burgomasters that reign by turns, and two *zunftmasters* that have also their turns, and all is for life; and the last are the heads of the companies, like the Roman tribunes of the people. The fabric of the *stadt-house* is ancient. There is very good painting in fresco upon the walls. One piece hath given much offence to the Papists, though they have no reason to blame the reformation for it, since it was done several years before it, in 1510. It is a representation of the day of judgment; and, after sentence given, the devil is represented driving many before him to hell; and, among these, there is a Pope, and several ecclesiastics. But it is believed, that the council, which sat so long in this place, acting so vigorously against the Pope, engaged the town into such a hatred of the papacy, that this might give the rise to this representation. The more learned in the town ascribe the beginning of the custom in Basil, of the clocks anticipating the time a full hour, to the sitting of the council; and they say, that, in order to the advancing of business, and the shortening their sessions, they ordered their clocks to be set forward an hour; which continueth to this day. The cathedral is a great old Gothic building; the chamber where the council sat, is of no great reception, and is a very ordinary room. Erasmus's tomb is only a plain inscription upon a great brass plate. There are a great many of Holben's pictures here, who was a native of Basil, and was recommended by Erasmus to King Henry VIII. The two best are a *corpe*,
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or Christ dead; which is certainly one of the best pictures in the world. There is another piece of his in the *stadt-houfe* (for this is in the public library) of about three or four foot square, in which, in six several cantons, the several parts of our Saviour's passion are represented with a life and beauty that cannot be enough admired. It is valued at ten thousand crowns. It is on wood; but hath that freshness of colour still on it, that seems peculiar to Holben's pencil. There is also a dance that he painted on the walls of an house where he used to drink, that is so worn out, that very little is now to be seen, except shapes and postures; but these shew the exquisiteness of the hand. There is another longer dance, that runneth all along the side of the convent of the Augustinians, which is now the French church, and that is *death's dance*. There are above threescore figures in it at full length, of persons of all ranks, from Popes, Emperors, and Kings, down to the meanest sorts of people, and of all ages and professions, to whom death appeareth in an insolent and surprising posture: and the several passions that they express are so well laid out, that this was certainly a great design. But the fresco being exposed to the air, this was so worn out some time ago, that they ordered the best painter they had to lay new colours on it; but this is so ill done, that one had rather see the dead shadows of Holben's pencil, than this coarse work. There is in Basil a gunsmith, that maketh wind-guns; and he shewed me one, that as it received at once air for ten shot, so it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends was his own invention, that he can discharge all the air that can be parcelled out in ten shot, at once, to give a home blow. I confess these are terrible instruments; and it seems the interest of mankind to forbid them quite, since they can be employed to assassinate persons

persons so dexterously, that neither noise nor fire will discover from what hand the shot cometh. The library of Basil is by much the best in all Switzerland. There is a fine collection of medals in it, and a very handsome library of manuscripts. The room is noble, and disposed in a very good method. Their manuscripts are chiefly the Latin fathers, or Latin translations of the Greek fathers; some good Bibles. They have the gospel in Greek capitals, but they are viciously writ in many places. There is an infinite number of the writers of the darker ages, and there are legends and sermons without number. All the books that were in the several monasteries at the time of the reformation, were carefully preserved; and they believe, that the Bishops who sat here in the council brought with them a great many manuscripts, which they never carried away. Among their manuscripts, I saw four of Huls's letters that he writ to the Bohemians the day before his death, which are very devout, but excessively simple. The manuscripts of this library are far more numerous than those of Bern, which were gathered by Bongarsius, and left by him to the public library there. They are indeed very little considered there, and are the worst kept that ever I saw. But it is a noble collection of all the ancient Latin authors. They have some few of the best of the Roman times, writ in great characters; and there are many that are seven or eight hundred years old. There is in Basil one of the best collections of medals that I ever saw in private hands, together with a noble library; in which there are manuscripts of good antiquity that belong to the family of Fesch, and that go from one learned man of the family to another: for this inheritance can only pass to a man of learning; and when the family produceth none, then it is to go to the public. In Basil, as the several

veral companies have been more or less strict in admitting some to a freedom in the company that have not been of the trade, so they retain their privileges to this day. For in such companies that have once received such a number that have not been of the trade as grew to be the majority, the trade hath never been able to recover their interest. But some companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but those that were of the trade; so that they retain their interest still in government. Of these the butchers were named for one; so that there are always four butchers in the council. The great council consisteth of two hundred and forty; but they have no power left them, and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary occasions, when the little council thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but six bailiages that belong to Basil, which are not employments of great advantage; for the best of them doth afford to the bailiff only a thousand livres a-year. They reckon that there are in Basil three thousand men that can bear arms, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the canton; so that the town is almost the half of this state; and the whole maketh thirty parishes. There are eighteen Professors in this university; and there is a spirit of a more free and generous learning stirring there, than I saw in all those parts. There is a great decency of habit in Basil; and the garb, both of the counsellors, ministers, and professors, their stiff ruffs, and their long beards, have an air that is august. The appointments are but small; for counsellors, ministers, and professors, have but an hundred crowns a-piece. It is true, many ministers are professors; so this mendeth the matter a little: but perhaps it would go better with the state of learning there, if they had but half the number of professors, and if those were a little better

better encouraged. No where is the rule of St Paul (of women having on their heads the badge of the authority under which they are brought, which, by a phrase that is not extraordinary, he calleth *power*) better observed than at Basil: for all the married women go to church with a coif on their heads, that is so folded, that as it cometh down so far as to cover their eyes, so another folding covereth also their mouth and chin, so that nothing but their nose appears; and then all turns backward in a folding that hangeth down to their mid-leg. This is always white. So that there is such a sight of white heads in their churches, as cannot be found any where else. The unmarried women wear hats turned up in the brims before and behind; and the brims of the sides, being about a foot broad, stand out far on both hands. This fashion is also at Strasburg, and is worn there also by the married women.

I mentioned formerly the constant danger to which this place is exposed from the neighbourhood of Hunningen. I was told, that at first it was pretended, that the French King intended to build only a small fort there; and it was believed, that one of the burgomasters of Basil, who was thought not only the wisest man of that canton, but of all Switzerland, was gained, to lay all men asleep, and to assure them, that the suffering this fort to be built so near them, was of no importance to them: but now they see too late their fatal error; for the place is great, and will hold a garrison of three or four thousand men. It is a pentagon; only the side towards the Rhine is so large, that if it went round on that side, I believe it must have been an hexagon. The bastions have all orillons; and in the middle of them there is a void space not filled up with earth, where there is a magazine built so thick in the vault, that it is
proof

proof against bombs. The ramparts are strongly faced. There is a large ditch ; and before the curtain, in the middle of the ditch, there runs all along a horn-work, which is but ten or twelve foot high ; and from the bottom of the rampart there goeth a vault to this horn-work, that is for conveying of men for its defence. Before this horn-work there is a half-moon, with this that is peculiar to those new fortifications, that there is a ditch that cuts the half-moon in an angle, and maketh one half-moon within another. Beyond that there is a counterscarp about twelve foot high above the water, with a covered way, and a glacis designed, though not executed. There is also a great horn-work besides all this, which runs out a huge way with its out-works towards Basil. There is also a bridge laid over the Rhine ; and there being an island in the river where the bridge is laid, there is a horn-work that filleth and fortifieth it. The buildings in this fort are beautiful, and the square can hold above four thousand men. The works are not yet quite finished ; but, when all is completed, this will be one of the strongest places in Europe. There is a cavalier on one or two of the bastions, and there are half-moons before the bastions. So that the Switzers see their danger now when it is not easy to redress it. This place is situated in a great plain, so that it is commanded by no rising ground on any side of it. I made a little tour into Alsace, as far as Mountbelliard. The soil is extreme rich ; but it hath been so long a frontier-country, and is by consequence so ill peopled, that it is in many places overgrown with woods. In one respect it is fit to be the seat of war ; for it is full of iron works, which bring a great deal of money into the country. I saw nothing peculiar in the iron works there, except that the sides of the great bellows were not of leather, but of wood ; which saves

much money : so I will not stand to describe them. The river Rhine, all from Basil to Spire, is so low, and is on both sides so covered with woods, that one that cometh down in a boat hath no sight of the country. The river runneth sometimes with such a force, that nothing but such woods could preserve its banks ; and even these are not able to save them quite ; for the trees are often washed away by the very roots, so that in many places those trees lie along in the channel of the river. It hath been also thought a sort of a fortification to both sides of the river, to have it thus faced with woods ; which maketh the passing of men dangerous, when they must march for some time after their passage through a defile. The first night from Basil we came to Brisac, which is a poor and miserable town ; but it is a noble fortification, and hath on the west side of the river, over which a bridge is laid, a regular fort of four or five bastions. The town of Brisac riseth all on a hill, which is a considerable height. There were near it two hills ; the one is taken within the fortification, and the other is so well levelled with the ground, that one cannot so much as find out where it was. All the ground about for many miles is plain ; so that from the hill, as from a cavalier, one can see exactly well, especially with the help of a perspective, all the motions of an enemy in case of a siege. The fortification is of a huge compass, above a French league, indeed almost a German league. The bastions are quite filled with earth ; they are faced with brick, and have a huge broad ditch full of water round them. The counterscarp, the covered way, which hath a palisade within a parapet, and the glacis, are all well executed. There is a half-moon before every cortin ; the bastions have no orillons, except one or two ; and the cortins are so disposed, that a good part of them defendeth
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the bastion. The garrison of this place in time of war must needs be eight or ten thousand men. There hath not been much done of late to this place; only the ditch is so adjusted, that it is all defended by the flanks of the bastions. But the noblest place on the Rhine is Strasburg. It is a town of a huge extent, and hath a double wall and ditch all round it: the inner wall is old, and of no strength; nor is the outward wall very good. It hath a *fausse-braye*, and is faced with brick twelve or fifteen foot above the ditch. The counterescarp is in an ill condition, so that the town was not in case to make any long resistance; but it is now strongly fortified. There is a citadel built on that side that goeth towards the Rhine, that is much such a fort as that of Hunningen; and on the side of the citadel towards the bridge, there is a great horn-work that runs out a great way, with outworks belonging to it. There are also small forts at the two chief gates that lead to Alsace; by which the city is so bridled, that these can cut off all its communication with the country about in case of a revolt. The bridge is also well fortified; there are also forts in some islands in the Rhine, and some redoubts. So that all round this place there is one of the greatest fortifications that is in Europe.

Hitherto the capitulation with relation to religion hath been well kept; and there is so small a number of new converts, and these are for the greatest part so inconsiderable, they not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not employ the new-fashioned missionaries *à la dragonne*, the old ones are not like to have so great a harvest there as they promised themselves, though they are Jesuits. The Lutherans, for the greatest part, retain their animosities almost to an equal degree both against Papists and Calvinists. I was in

their church; where, if the music of their psalms pleased me much, the irreverence in singing (it being free to keep on or put off the hat) did appear very strange to me. The churches are full of pictures, in which the chief passages of our Saviour's life are represented; but there is no sort of religious respect paid them. They bow when they name the Holy Ghost, as well as at the name of Jesus: but they have not the ceremonies that the Lutherans of Saxony use; which Mr Bebel, their Professor of Divinity, said was a great happiness; for a similitude in outward rites might dispose the ignorant people to change too easily. I found several good people, both of the Lutheran ministers, and others, acknowledge, that there was such a corruption of morals spread over the whole city, that as they had justly drawn down on their heads the plague of the loss of their liberty, so this having touched them so little, they had reason to look for severer strokes. One seeth in the ruin of this city, what a mischievous thing the popular pride of a free city is. They fancied they were able to defend themselves; and so they refused to let an Imperial garrison come within their town: for if they had received only five hundred men, as that small number would not have been able to have oppressed their liberties; so it would have so secured the town, that the French could not have besieged it, without making war on the empire. But the town thought this was a diminution of their freedom, and so chose rather to pay a garrison of three thousand soldiers; which, as it exhausted their revenue, and brought them under great taxes, so it proved too weak for their defence when the French army came before them. The town begins to sink in its trade, notwithstanding the great circulation of money that the expence of the fortifications hath brought to it; but when that

is at an end, it will sink more sensibly; for it is impossible for a place of trade, that is to have always eight or ten thousand soldiers in it, to continue long in a flourishing state. There was a great animosity between two of the chief families of the town, Dietrick and Obrecht. The former was the burgomaster, and was once almost run down by a faction that the other had raised against him; but he turned the tide, and got such an advantage against Obrecht, who had writ somewhat against the conduct of their affairs, that he was condemned, and beheaded, for writing libels against the government. His son is a learned man, and was Professor of the Civil Law; and he, to have his turn of revenge against Dietrick, went to Paris last summer; and that he might make his court the better, changed his religion. Dietrick had been always looked on as one of the chief of the French faction, though he had been at first an Imperialist; so it was thought that he should have been well rewarded: yet it was expected, that, to make himself capable of that, he should have changed his religion. But he was an ancient man, and would not purchase his court at that rate; so, without any reason given, and against the express words of the capitulation, he was confined to one of the midland provinces of France, (as I remember it was Limosin). And thus he that had been thought the chief cause of this town's falling under the power of the French, is the first man that hath felt the effects of it. The library here is considerable. The case is a great room, very well contrived; for it is divided into closets all over the body of the room, which runs about these as a gallery; and in these closets, all round, there are the books of the several professions lodged apart. There is one for manuscripts, in which there are some of considerable antiquity. I need say nothing to you of

the vast height, and the Gothic architecture of the steeple, and of the great church, nor of the curious clock, where there is so vast a variety of motions; for these are well known. The bas reliefs upon the tops of the great pillars of the church are not so visible, but they are surprising; for this being a fabric of three or four hundred years old, it is very strange to see such representations as are there. There is a procession represented, in which a hog carrieth the pot with the holy water, and asses and hogs in priestly vestments follow to make up the procession. There is also an ass standing before an altar, as if he were going to consecrate; and one carrieth a case with reliques, within which one seeth a fox; and the trains of all that go in this procession are supported by monkies. This seems to have been made in hatred of the monks, whom the secular clergy abhorred at that time; because they had drawn the wealth and the following of the world after them; and they had exposed the secular clergy so much for their ignorance, that it is probable, after some ages the monks falling under the same contempt, the secular clergy took their turn in exposing them in so lasting a representation to the scorn of the world. There is also in the pulpit a nun cut in wood lying along, and a frier lying near her with his breviary open before him, and his hand under the nun's habit, and the nun's feet are shod with iron shoes. I confess I did not look for these things, for I had not heard of them; but my noble friend Mr Ablancourt viewed them with great exactness while he was the French King's resident at Strasburg, in the company of one of the magistrates that waited on him; and it is upon his credit, to which all that know his eminent sincerity know how much is due, that I give you this particular.

From Strasburg we went down the Rhine to
Philippsburg,

Philipsburg, which lieth at a quarter of a mile's distance from the river. It is but a small place, and the bastions are but little. There is a ravelin before almost all the cortins; and there lie such marshes all round it, that in these lieth the chief strength of the place. The French had begun a great crown-work on the side that lieth to the Rhine, and had cast out a horn-work beyond that; but, by all that appears, it seems they intended to continue that crown-work quite round the town, and to make a second wall and ditch all round it; which would have enlarged the place vastly, and made a compass capable enough to lodge above ten thousand men: and this would have been so terrible a neighbour to the Palatinate and all Franconia, that it was a masterpiece in Charles-Lewis, the late Elector Palatine, to engage the empire into this siege. He saw well how much it concerned him to have it out of the hands of the French; so that he took great care to have the Duke of Lorraine's camp so well supplied with all things necessary during the siege, that the army lay not under the least uneasiness all the while. From thence, in three hours, we came to Spire; which is so naked a town, that, if it were attacked, it could not make the least resistance. The town is neither great nor rich, and is subsisted chiefly by the Imperial chamber that sitteth here; though there is a constant dispute between the town and the chamber concerning privileges: for the government of the town pretends, that the judges of the chamber, as they are private men, and out of the court of judicature, are subject to them; and so about a year ago they put one of the judges in prison. On the other hand, the judges pretend that their persons are sacred. It was the consideration of the chamber that procured to the town the neutrality that they enjoyed all the last war. I thought to have
seen

seen the forms of this court, and the way of laying up and preserving their records; but the court was not then sitting. The building, the halls and chambers of this famous court, are mean beyond imagination; and look liker the halls of some small company, than of so great a body: and I could not see the places where they lay up their archives. The government of the city is all Lutheran: but not only the cathedral is in the hands of the Bishop and Chapter, but there are likewise several convents of both sexes; and the Jesuits have also a college there. There is little remarkable in the cathedral, which is a huge building in the Gothic manner, of the worst sort. The tombs of many Emperors that lie buried there are remarkable for their meanness, they being only great flag-stones laid on small stone ballisters of a foot and a half high. There are also the marks of a ridiculous fable concerning Saint Bernard, which is too foolish to be related; yet, since they have taken such pains to preserve the remembrance of it, I shall venture to write it. There are from the gate, all along the nave of the church, up to the steps that go up to the choir, four round plates of brass, above a foot diameter, and at the distance of thirty feet one from another, laid in the pavement. On the first of these is engraven *O Clemens*; on the second, *O Pia*; on the third, *O Felix*; and on the fourth, *Maria*. The last is about thirty feet distant from a statue of the virgin. So they say, that St Bernard came up the whole length of the church at four steps, and that those four plates were laid where he stepped; and that at every step he pronounced the word that is engraven on the plate; and, when he came to the last, the image of the virgin answered him, *Salve, Bernarde*: upon which he answered, *Let a woman keep silence in the church*; and that the virgin's statue has kept silence ever since:

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This last part of the story is certainly very credible. He was a man of learning that shewed me this; and he repeated it so gravely to me, that I saw he either believed it, or at least that he had a mind to make me believe it. And I asked him as gravely, if that was as firmly believed there? He told me, that one had lately writ a book to prove the truth of it, as I remember it was a Jesuit. He acknowledged it was not an article of faith; so I was satisfied. There is in the cloister an old Gothic representation of our Saviour's agony in stone, with a great many figures of his Apostles, and the company that came to seize him; that is not an ill sculpture for the age in which it was made, it being some ages old. The Calvinists have a church in this town, but their numbers are not considerable. I was told there were some ancient manuscripts in the library that belongeth to the cathedral; but one of the prebendaries, to whom I addressed myself, being, according to the German custom, a man of greater quality than learning, told me, he heard they had some ancient manuscripts, but he knew nothing of them; and the Dean was absent; so I could not see them, for he kept one of the keys. The Lower Palatinate is certainly one of the sweetest countries of all Germany. It is a great plain till one cometh to the hills of Heidelberg; the town is ill situated, just in a bottom between two ranges of hills, yet the air is much commended. I need say nothing of the castle; nor of the prodigious wine-cellar; in which, though there is but one celebrated tun, that is seventeen foot high, and twenty-six foot long; and is built with a strength more like that of the ribs of a ship, than the staves of a tun; yet there are many other tuns of such a prodigious bigness, that they would seem very extraordinary, if this vast one did not eclipse them. The late Prince
Charles-

St Katharine's, in which there is as much painting as ever I saw in any Popish church; and over the high altar there is an huge carved crucifix, as there are painted ones in other places of their church. The pulpit is extreme fine, of marble of different colours, very well polished and joined. I was here at sermon, where I understood nothing; but I liked one thing that I saw both at Strasburg and here, that at the end of prayers there was a considerable interval of silence left, before the conclusion, for all people's private devotions. In the house of their public discipline, they retain still the old Roman *pistrina*, or hand-mill, at which lewd women are condemned to grind; that is, to drive about the wheel that maketh the millstones go. There is a great number of Jews there; though their two synagogues are very little; and by consequence, the numbers being great, they are very nasty. I was told they were in all above twelve hundred. The women had the most of a tawdry embroidery of gold and silver about them that ever I saw; for they had all mantles of crape, and both about the top and the bottom there was a border above a hand's breadth of embroidery. The fortification of Francfort is considerable. Their ditch is very broad, and very full of water; all the bastions have a countermine that runneth along by the brim of the ditch; but the counterescarp is not faced with brick as the walls are, and so in many places it is in an ill condition. The covered way and the glacis are also in an ill case. The town is rich, and driveth a great trade, and is very pleasantly situated. Not far from hence is Hockam, that yieldeth the best wine of those parts. Since I took Francfort in my way from Heidelberg to Mentz, I could not pass by Worms, for which I was sorry. I had a great mind to see that place where Luther made his first appearance before the Emperor

Emperor and the diet, and, in that solemn audience, expressed an undaunted zeal for that glorious cause in which God made him such a blessed instrument. I had another piece of curiosity on me, which will perhaps appear to you somewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to see a picture that, as I was told, is over one of the Popish altars there, which one would think was invented by the enemies of transubstantiation, to make it appear ridiculous. There is a wind-mill; and the virgin throws Christ into the hopper, and he comes out at the eye of the mill all in wafers, which some priests take up to give to the people. This is so coarse an emblem, that one would think it too gross even for Laplanders; but a man that can swallow transubstantiation itself, will digest this likewise. Mentz is very nobly situated, on a rising ground, a little below the conjunction of the two rivers, the Rhine and the Maine. It is of too great a compass, and too ill peopled, to be capable of a great defence. There is a citadel upon the highest part of the hill, that commandeth the town; it is compassed about with a dry ditch that is considerably deep. The walls of the town are faced with brick, and regularly fortified; but the counterscarp is not faced with brick: so all is in a sad condition; and the fortification is weakest on that side where the Elector's palace is. There is one side of a new palace very nobly built in a regular architecture; only the Germans do still retain somewhat of the Gothic manner. It is of a great length; and the design is to build quite round the court, and then it will be a very magnificent palace: only the stone is red; for all the quarries that are upon the Rhine, from Basil down to Coblenz, are of red stone, which doth not look beautiful. The Elector of Mentz is an absolute prince. His subjects present lists of their magi-

strates to him; but he is not tied to them, and may name whom he will. The ancient demefne of the electorate is about forty thousand crowns, but the taxes rife to about three hundred thousand crowns: fo that the fubjects here are as heavily taxed as in the Palatinate. There are twelve thousand crowns a-year given the Elector for his privy-purfe, and the ftate bears the reft of his whole expence. It can arm ten thousand men; and there is a garrifon of two thousand men in Mentz. This Elector hath three councils; one as he is Chancellor of the Empire, confifting of three perfons; the other two are for the policy and juftice of his principality. He and his chapter have months by turns for the nomination of the prebends. In the month of January he names, if any die; and they chufe in the room of fuch as die in February; and fo all the year round. The prebendaries, or domeheers, have about three thousand crowns a-year a-piece. When the Elector dieth, the Emperor fendeth one to fee the election made; and he recommendeth one: but the canons may chufe whom they pleafe; and the prefent Elector was not of the Emperor's recommendation. Befides the palace at Mentz, the Elector hath another near Francfort; which is thought the beft that is in thofe parts of Germany. The cathedral is a huge Gothic building. There is a great cupola in the weft end, and there the choir fingeth mafs. I could not learn whether this was done only becaufe the place here was of greater reception than at the eaft end, or if any burying-place and endowment obliged them to the weft end. Near the cathedral there is a huge chapel of great antiquity; and on the north door there are two great brafs gates, with a long infcription; which I had not time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperor Lotharius's time. There is a vaft number of churches in this

town,

town, but it is poor and ill inhabited. The Rhine here is almost half an English mile broad; and there is a bridge of boats laid over it. From Mentz, all along to Baccharach, (which seems to carry its name, *Bacchi ara*, from some famous altar that the Romans probably erected, by reason of the good wine that grows in the neighbourhood), there is a great number of very considerable villages on both sides of the river. Here the rats-tower is shewed; and the people of the country do all firmly believe the story of the rats eating up an Elector; and that though he fled to this island, where he built a small high tower, the pursued him still, and swam after him, and ate him up. And they told us, there were some of his bones to be seen still in the tower. This extraordinary death makes me call to mind a very particular and unlooked-for sort of death, that I carried off a poor labourer of the ground a few days before I left Geneva. The foot of one of his cattle, as he was plowing, went into a nest of wasps upon which the whole swarm came out, and set upon him that held the plough, and killed him in a very little time; and his body was prodigiously swelled with the poison of so many stings. But to return to the Rhine. All the way from Baccharach down to Coblentz, there are on both sides of the river hanging grounds, or little hills, so laid out as if many of them had been laid by art, which produce the rich Rhenish wine. They are indeed as well exposed to the sun, and covered from storms, as can be imagined; and the ground in those hills, which are in some places of a considerable height, is so cultivated, that there is not an inch of land that is capable of improvement; and this bringeth so much wealth into the country, that along there is a great number of considerable villages. Coblentz is the strongest place that I saw

of all that belong to the empire. The situation is noble, the Rhine running before it, and the Moselle passing along the side of the town. It is well fortified; the ditch is large, the counterscarp is high, and the covered way is in a good condition. Both walls and counterscarp are faced with brick; and there are ravelins before the cortins. But on the side of the Moselle it is very slightly fortified; and there is no fort at the end of the stone bridge that is laid over the Moselle, so that it lieth quite open on that side; which seemeth a strange defect in a place of that consequence. But though the fortifications of this place are very considerable, yet its chief defence lieth in the fort of Hermanstan, which is built on the top of a very high hill that lieth on the other side of the Rhine, and which commandeth this place so absolutely, that he who is master of Hermanstan, is always master of Coblenz. This belongeth to the Elector of Triers, whose palace lieth on the east side of the Rhine, just at the foot of the hill of Hermanstan, and over-against the point where the Moselle falleth into the Rhine: so that nothing can be more pleasantly situated; only the ground begins to rise just at the back of the house with so much steepness, that there is not room for gardens or walks. The house maketh a great shew upon the river; but we were told, that the apartments within were not answerable to the outside. I say, we were told; for the German princes keep such forms, that, without a great deal ado, one cannot come within their courts, unless it be when they are abroad themselves. So that we neither got within the palace at Mentz, nor this of Hermanstan. It is but a few hours from this to Bonne, where the Elector of Colen keepeth his court. The place hath a regular fortification; the walls are faced with brick: but though the ditch, which is dry, is pretty

pretty broad, the counterſcarp is in ſo ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This Elector is the nobleſt born, and the beſt provided of all the German clergy: for he is brother to the great Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria; and beſides Colen, he hath Liege, Munſter, and Hedeſheim, which are all great biſhopricks. I hath been alſo fix and thirty years in the electorſhip. His palace is very mean, conſiſting but of one court; the half of which is caſt into a little garden, and the wood-yard is in the very court. The lower part of the court was a ſtable: but he hath made an apartment here that is all furniſhed with pictures; where, as there are ſome of the hands of the greateſt maſters, ſo there are a great many for to ſet theſe off, that are ſcarce good enough for ſign-poſts.

The Elector has a great many gold medals, which will give me occaſion to tell you one of the moſt extravagant pieces of forgery that perhaſps ever was, which happened to be found out at the laſt ſiege of Bonne. For while they were clearing the ground for planting a battery, they diſcovered a vault in which there was an iron cheſt that was full of medals of gold, to the value of an hundred thouſand crowns, and of which I was told the Elector bought to the value of thirty thouſand crowns. They are huge big; one weighed eight hundred ducats, and the gold was of the fineneſs of duell gold: but though they bore the impreſſions of Roman medals, or rather medaillons, they were counterfeit; and the imitation was ſo coarſely done that one muſt be extreme ignorant in medals to be deceived by them. Some few that ſeemed to be were of the late Greek Emperors. Now, it is very unaccountable, what could induce a man to make a forgery upon ſuch metal, and in ſo great a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground eſpecial

especially in an age in which so much gold was ten times the value of what it is at present; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred years ago.

The prince went out a hunting while we were there, with a very handsome guard of about four-score horse well mounted; so we saw the palace, but were not suffered to see the apartment where he lodged. There is a great silver cassolette gilt, all set with emeralds and rubies; that though they made a fine appearance, yet were a composition of the prince's own making. His officers also shewed us a bason and ewer, which they said were of mercury, fixed by the prince himself; but they added, that now for many years he wrought no more in his elaboratory. I did not easily believe this; and as the weight of the plate did not approach to that of quicksilver, so the medicinal virtues of fixed mercury (if there is any such thing) are so extraordinary, that it seemed very strange to see twenty or thirty pound of it made up in two pieces of plate. A quarter of a mile without the town, the best garden of those parts of Germany is to be seen, in which there is a great variety of water-works, and very many noble alleys in the French manner; and the whole is of a very considerable extent. But as it hath no statues of any value to adorn it; so the house about which it lieth is in ruins. And it is strange to see, that so rich and so great a prince, during so long a regency, hath done so little to enlarge or beautify his buildings. Bonne and Coblentz are both poor and small towns. Colen is three hours distant from Bonne. It is of a prodigious extent, but ill built, and worse peopled in the remote parts of it; and as the walls are all in an ill case, so it is not possible to fortify so vast a compass as this town maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole wealth

wealth of this little state. The Jews live in a little suburb on the other side of the river, and may not come over without leave obtained; for which they pay considerably. There is no exercise of the Protestant religion suffered within the town; but those of that religion are suffered to live there, and they have a church at two miles distance. The arsenal here is suitable to the fortifications, very mean, and ill furnished. The choir of the great church is as high in the roof as any church I ever saw; but it seemeth the wealth of this place could not finish the whole fabric, so as to answer the height of the choir, for the body of the church is very low. Those that are disposed to believe legends, have enough here to overset even a good degree of credulity, both in the story of the three Kings, whose chapel is visited with great devotion, and standeth at the east end of the great choir; and in that more copious fable of the eleven thousand Virgins, whose church is all over full of rough tombs, and of a vast number of bones, that are piled up in rows about the walls of the church. Those fables are so firmly believed by the Papists there, that the least sign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, passeth for an infallible mark of an heretic. The Jesuits have a great and noble college and church here. And for Thauler's sake I went to the Dominicans house and church, which is also very great. One grows extreme weary of walking over this great town, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it. The present subject of their discourse is also very melancholy. The late rebellion that was there is so generally known, that I need not say much concerning it. A report was set about the town by some incendiaries, that the magistrates did eat up the public revenue, and were like to ruin the city. I could not learn what ground there was for these reports; for it is not ordinary

dinary to see reports of that kind fly through a body of men without some foundation. It is certain, this came to be so generally believed, that there was a horrible disorder occasioned by it. The magistrates were glad to save themselves from the storm, and abandoned the town to the popular fury, some of them having been made sacrifices to it; and this rage held long. But within this last year, after near two years disorder, those that were sent by the Emperor and diet to judge the matter, having threatened to put the town under the Imperial bann, if it had stood longer out, were received, and have put the magistrates again in the possession of their authority, and all the chief incendiaries were clapped in prison. Many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in prison. They told us, that some executions were to be made within a week when we were there. Dusseldorp is the first considerable town below Colen. It is the seat of the Duke of Juliers, who is Duke of Newburgh, eldest son to the present Elector Palatine. The palace is old, and Gothic enough; but the Jesuits have there a fine college, and a noble chapel, though there are manifest faults in the architecture. The Protestant religion is tolerated; and they have a church built here within these few years, that was procured by the intercession of the Elector of Brandenburg; who, observing exactly the liberty of religion that was agreed to in Cleve, had reason to see the same as duly observed in his neighbourhood in favour of his own religion. The fortification here is very ordinary, the ramparts being faced but a few feet high with brick. But Keiseriswart, some hours lower on the same side, which belongeth to the Elector of Colen, though it is a much worse town than Dusseldorp, yet is much better fortified. It hath a very broad ditch, and a very regular fortification: the
walls

walls are considerably high, faced with brick; and so is the counterscarp, which is also in a very good condition. The fortification of Orfoy is now quite demolished. Rhineberg continueth as it was; but the fortification is very mean, only of earth, so that it is not capable of making a great resistance. And Wesel, though it is a very fine town, yet is a very poor fortification: nor can it ever be made good, except at a vast expence; for the ground all about it being sandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unless the foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon piloty. In all these towns one sees another air of wealth and abundance, than in much richer countries that are exhausted with taxes. Rees and Emmeric are good towns, but the fortifications are quite ruined; so that here is a rich and a populous country, that hath at present very little defence, except what it hath from its situation. Cleve is a delicious place: the situation and prospect are charming, and the air is very pure; and from thence we came hither in three hours.

I will not say one word of the country into which I am now come; for as I know that is needless to you on many accounts, so a picture that I see here in the stadthouse puts me in mind of the perfectest book of its kind that is perhaps in being: for Sir William Temple, whose picture hangeth here at the upper end of the plenipotentiaries that negotiated the famous treaty of Nimeguen, hath indeed set a pattern to the world, which is done with such life, that it may justly make others blush to copy after it; since it must be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other places, as he hath given us of one of the least, but yet one of the noblest parcels of the universe, travelling would become a needless thing, unless it were for diversion; since one findeth no farther

farther occasion for his curiosity in this country, than what is fully satisfied by his rare performance. Yet I cannot give over writing, without reflecting on the resistance that this place made, when so many other places were so basely delivered up. Though one doth not see in the ruins of the fortification here how it could make so long a resistance, yet it was, that that stemmed the tide of a progress that made all the world stand amazed; and it gave a little time to the Dutch to recover themselves out of the consternation, into which so many blows, that came so thick one after another, had struck them.

But then the world saw a change, that though it hath not had so much incense given to it, as the happy conjuncture of another prince hath drawn after it with so much excess, that all the topics of flattery seem exhausted by it, yet will appear to posterity one of the most surprising scenes in history, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the Roman state after the battle of Canne. When a young prince, that had never before borne arms, or so much as seen a campaign; who had little or no counsel about him, but that which was suggested from his own thoughts; and that had no extraordinary advantage by his education, either for literature or affairs, was of a sudden set at the head of a state and army, that was sunk with so many losses, and that saw the best half of its soil torn from it, and the most powerful enemy in the world, surrounded with a victorious army, that was commanded by the best generals that the age hath produced, come within sight, and settle his court in one of its best towns, and had at the same time the greatest force, both by sea and land, that hath been known, united together for its destruction: when the inhabitants were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable

formidable an enemy, to let loose that which on all other occasions is the most dreadful to them, and to drown so great a part of their soil for the preservation of the rest; and to complicate together all the miseries that a nation can dread, when, to the general consternation with which so dismal a scene possessed them, a distraction within doors seemed to threaten them with the last strokes; and while their army was so ill disciplined, that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble troops, after a peace at land of almost thirty years continuance; and while their chief ally, that was the most concerned in their preservation, was, like a great paralytic body, more like to fall on those it pretended to support, and to crush them, than to give them any considerable assistance: When, I say, a young prince came at the head of all this, the very prospect of which would have quite damped an ordinary courage, he very quickly changed the scene; he animated the public councils with a generous vigour; he found them sinking into a feebleness of hearkening to propositions for a peace that were as little safe as honourable; but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such infamous terms. His credit also among the populace seemed to inspire them with a new life. They easily persuaded themselves, that as one *WILLIAM* Prince of *ORANGE* had formed their state, so here another of the same name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this spirit of courage, which he derived from his own breast, and infused into the whole people; as well as into the magistracy, that preserved this country. Something there was in all this that was divine. The public councils were again settled; and the people were at quiet, when they saw him vested with a full authority for that time with relation to peace and war; and concluded they were safe, because

X

they

they were in his hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the interest of his country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all propositions of peace that were hurtful to his country, without so much as considering the advantages that were offered to himself, (in which you know that I write upon sure grounds); he refused the offer of the sovereignty of its chief city, that was made to him by a solemn deputation, being satisfied with that authority which had been so long maintained by his ancestors with so much glory, and being justly sensible how much the breaking in upon established laws and liberties is fatal even to those that seem to get by it. He thus began his public appearance on the stage, with all the disadvantages that a spirit aspiring to true glory could wish for; since it was visible, that he had nothing to trust to but a good cause, a favourable providence, and his own integrity and courage. Nor was success wanting to such noble beginnings: for he, in a short time, with a conduct and spirit beyond any thing that the world hath yet seen, recovered this state out of so desperate a distemper; took some places by main force, and obliged the enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in so feeble a manner. And if a raw army had not always success against more numerous and better-trained troops; and if the want of magazines and stores in their allies country, which was the chief scene of the war, made that he could not post his army, and wait for favourable circumstances, so that he was sometimes forced to run to action with a haste that his necessities imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings of a victory out of the hands of the greatest general of the age, the facing a great monarch with an army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an engagement; and, in short, the forming the Dutch army to such a pitch, that it became visibly
superior

superior to the French, that seemed to have been fed with conquests; and the continuing the war, till the prince that had sacrificed the quiet of Europe to his glory, was glad to come, and treat for a peace in the enemy's country, and in this very place, and to set all engines on work to obtain that, by the mediation of some, and the jealousies of other princes: All these are such performances, that posterity will be disposed to rank them rather among the ideas of what an imaginary hero could do, than with what could be really transacted in so short a time, and in such a manner. And, in conclusion, every place that belonged to these states, and to their neighbours along the Rhine, together with a great many in Flanders, being restored, these provinces do now see themselves, under his happy conduct, re-established in their former peace and security. And though some scars of such deep wounds do still remain, yet they find themselves considered on all hands as the bulwark of Christendom against the fears of a new monarchy, and as the preservers of the peace and liberty of Europe,

Here is a harvest, not for forced rhetoric or false eloquence, but for a severe and sincere historian, capable of affording a work that will far exceed all those luscious panegyrics of mercenary pens: but a small or a counterfeit jewel must be set with all possible advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be shewed. I cannot end with a greater subject; and I must acknowledge myself to be so inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters, so I dare not trust myself too long to the heat that so noble an object inspires; therefore I break off abruptly,

Nimeguen, May 20. 1686.

Your's.

A P P E N D I X,

C O N T A I N I N G

Some REMARKS that have been sent me by a person of quality.

A Person of great rank, that is of Italian extraction, and that by consequence knows the country well, having spent much of his time in it, had heard that I was giving the world an account of the reflections that I had made on the present state of Italy; and upon that he wrote the following paper to one of his friends, to be communicated to me, for I have not the honour of any commerce with himself. The observations that he had made, agreed so exactly with my own, that I thought it would be no small advantage towards the supporting the credit of those I had made, to find them confirmed by so extraordinary a person, whose character (as those who know him well have assured me) is so undisputed, that, if I durst name him, this alone would serve to establish the belief of the most critical parts of my letters in the minds of all that should read his paper. There are two particulars in which he and I differ; and in so great a variety of observations that are so critical, and so much out of the common road, it will not appear strange, if there should be some disagreement. When he mentions the tax that the Pope has laid on the corn, he does not add one thing which I mention; and that is, that the measure by which the Pope sells, is by a fifth part less than

than that by which he buys. The other is more considerable; for in the account he gives of the present Pope's breaking in upon the settlement of the bank, though it is upon the matter very near the same with that which I give, yet there is a difference of some importance as to the manner of doing it. But as to that, all I can say is, that the first account I had of that transaction, was the same that is in this gentleman's paper; but afterwards I had occasion to talk of this matter very copiously with one that has lived many years in the Pope's dominions, and that has dealt much in those affairs; he has now a character upon him, and so it is not expedient to name him: it was from him that I had the particular recital of this matter; and therefore I thought it surer to go upon the information I had from him, than upon the general report that all strangers may find at Rome. This paper had been more copious, if the person that wrote it had not been restrained by some particular considerations from saying any thing relating to the government of Venice.

Remarks upon Switzerland.

IT is very surprising, when one comes out of France, which is an extraordinary good country, into Switzerland, which is not near so fertile, to see so great a difference between the people of those two countries. The people in France, and especially the peasants, are very poor, and most of them reduced to great misery and want. The people in Switzerland cannot be said to be very rich; but yet there are very few, even amongst the peasants themselves, that are miserably poor. The most part of them have enough to live upon.

from their labour, and the fruits of the earth. Every where in France, even in the best cities, there are swarms of beggars; and yet scarce any to be seen throughout all Switzerland. The houses of the peasants or country-people in France are extremely mean; and in them no other furniture to be found, besides poor nasty beds, straw chairs, and plates and dishes of wood and earth. In Switzerland, the peasants have their houses furnished with good feather-beds, good chairs, and other household-stuff, for their convenience as well as their necessity. Their windows are all of glass, always kept mended and whole; and their linen very neat and white, as well for their bedding as their tables.

Of the Grisons country.

THE Grisons country is much more barren than Switzerland, because it is wholly upon the mountains, which produce nothing at all: yet notwithstanding (all excess and luxury being banished from amongst them, and the inhabitants being extremely laborious) there are none to be seen there that are very poor and needy, but they live at ease; and there are a great many gentry of good estates. Their government is altogether popular. There are but three or four royalties belonging to nobility in all the country. All the rest of their lands are in demesne; which may yet well be called royalties too, because exempt from all dues and payments whatsoever. There is nothing at all to be paid for bringing into the country any sort of goods or merchandizes, or for exporting of them thence. Every one there fully enjoys the fruit of his own labours, and the revenues of his land. Although the wine they drink is brought upon

upon horses four or five days journey, yet they have it cheaper there than in most parts of Italy or France, where it grows so plentifully. There are villages upon the very tops of the mountains, consisting of an hundred and fifty and two hundred houses a-piece. And although they have no corn or grain that grows there, and but very little grass; yet the peasants keep three or four hundred horses, which they employ to carry goods and merchandizes; which turns to so good account, that they live very well, and want nothing either for the necessity or convenience of life. The inns upon the mountains are very good; and there is always to be had, besides good bread and wine, great quantity of game and venison, according to the season of the year; good trouts, very good chambers, and beds after the manner of the country. When you leave the Grisons country, and are come into the country of Chavanne, the people begin to speak broken Italian. Although this latter is a more fertile country, yet the inhabitants and peasants do not live so well as in the Grisons country, for that the natives are more slothful and lazy: and here again there are abundance of poor people, as you will find in all parts of Italy.

Of the bailiage of Lugane.

THere are on the other side of the mountains four bailiages, which were formerly part of the duchy of Milan. Lewis XII. when he lost that duchy, gave these bailiages to some of the Swiss cantons. These bailiages are called, *Lugane*, *Lucarno*, *Mendris*, and *Belintson*. I shall only take notice of the bailiage of *Lugane*, which contains ninety-nine villages. The territories of this bailiage, and of the others, are not near so good as that

that of Milan, to which it joins : yet the villages of this bailiage are very populous ; the land is very fruitful, because it is well cultivated ; and all the inhabitants live contented and well. There are no beggars amongst them, nor hardly any object of misery and want. Their houses are all good, well built, and kept in good repair. The territory of Milan is certainly one of the best in all Italy ; it produceth wine, corn, and oil in abundance, a very great quantity of silk, and (generally speaking) all sorts of fruits. There is also excellent pasture for cattle : and yet the peasants there do not live so well, by much, as in the bailiage of Lugane ; for there is a great deal of land that lies unmanured, and the country is not near so populous as in Lugane. There can be no other reason given for this difference, but that Milan is under the dominion of Spain ; that the people are loaden with imposts, subsidies, and taxes, which makes them very poor ; whereas the people of Lugane are under the government of Switzerland, who put no taxes or subsidies upon them.

Remarks on the lakes.

I Do not know that in the kingdom of France, as it was thirty years since, there were any lakes, except perhaps in the mountains of Dauphiné. From the lake of Joux to the lake of Garde, which is at Descoman, between Bresse and Veronne, in the territories of Venice, there are a great number of lakes ; one of the most considerable is that of Geneva ; then there is the lake of Neufchatel, the lake d'Yverdon, the lake of Morat, the lake of Bieme, the lake of Quinti, the lake of Lucerne, the lake of Constance, the lake of Valstat, and many others in the mountains of Switzerland.

Switzerland. There is on the other side of the mountains a great and considerable lake called *Come*, also the lake of Lugane, the lake Major, which is above sixty miles long, and likewise the lake de Garde. All these lakes are replenished with most excellent fish, and particularly trouts : but in the lake de Garde, there is found an admirable fish called *carpion*, which is far more delicate than either trout or salmon ; but they are not so great, for those of the largest size do not weigh above fifteen pounds. I do not think, that in any part of Europe there are so many fine lakes to be found in so narrow a compass as those which I have here mentioned.

Concerning the duchy of Ferrara.

THE Duke of Ferrara hath always been but a little prince, because his dominions are not very great ; yet there have been several of the said Dukes, for above one hundred and fifty years ago and since, that have made a handsome figure, and held a considerable rank amongst the princes of Italy. The country was formerly very populous ; and the lands being fertile, and well cultivated, the revenues of the prince were considerable ; and he kept a good court. But since that duchy is devolved upon the see of Rome by the death of the last Duke, who died without issue-male, the country is almost depopulated. The most part of the lands are desolate ; and for several years last past, the duchy is infected with diseases, purely for want of inhabitants. There were formerly, in the time of the Dukes of Ferrara, more than one hundred thousand people, and at present there are not fifteen thousand. The grass grows in the streets, and most of the houses are void.

Polesina

Polesino is one of the best parts of Italy; and that part of it which is possessed by the Venetians, is very well cultivated, and populous, and it is one of the best of their small provinces. As soon as you pass the great arm of the river Po, which is called the *Lagoscuro*, which separates that part of the Polesino which belongs to the Venetians, from that which belongs to the Pope; although the land and country is the very same, yet the most part of those lands of the Polesino which belong to the ecclesiastical state are desolate and waste. The grass lies withered and rotten upon the ground, because there is no body takes care to mow it: and, in passing through great villages, you'll find all the houses abandoned, and not one inhabitant to be found. It is not easily to be imagined, how it is possible that a country so populous and flourishing, should, in less than eighty years, be so entirely ruined and dispeopled. By this it is very apparent, that no subjects are so unhappy as those that live under the domination of the clergy.

Concerning the estates of Bologna.

IF the Popes had been able to have made themselves masters of Bologna, as they have done of Ferrara, they would thereby have reduced it to the same miserable condition; but Bologna hath always preserved their privileges and the civil government by means of the Gonfaloniers, under whom they are governed. They have the right of sending ambassadors to the Pope, who enjoy the same prerogatives as the ambassadors of other free princes and states. The Pope cannot confiscate the goods of any subject of Bologna for any crime whatsoever. The great mischiefs which too frequently happen here, more than in other parts, are
assassinations

assassinations and murders. Those that commit them fly for shelter to some of the churches as to an inviolable asylum, from whence the legates themselves cannot bring them to be punished; or perhaps they retire into the country into some strong hold, or into the territories of some neighbouring prince, where they are certainly secure, and there remain until the legation of the then Cardinal be finished; and afterwards make an agreement with the successor, who for money pardons them (having power so to do) all the crimes and murders they have committed. In other respects the people of Bologna are very happy, and live in great plenty; for that the country is mighty fruitful, and they pay no taxes to the prince.

Remarks upon the country of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

THERE are in this great dukedom three considerable cities, Florence, Pisa, and Sienna. All those who have read the history of Italy, do know, that Pisa was formerly a very powerful commonwealth, that it flourished in trade and commerce, and that there were a great many wealthy citizens belonging to it. There needs no other proof of this than what we read, that, upon a certain occasion, a hundred of the citizens equipped each of them a galley at their own charges, which they maintained during all the war. The great actions are well known which they have done in the Levant by their fleets, and how they a long time opposed the Duke of Florence; who at length subdued them by the assistance of the Spanish arms.

Pisa is one of the largest and most beautiful cities of Italy; the buildings are stately and fine, and

so is one of their churches ; which, with its dependencies, is one of the finest in all Italy. The city is built upon the river Arne, which divides it in the midst : it is navigable for vessels of a great burden ; and at Leghorn, which is twelve miles distant, it falls into the sea. It is one of the best situated towns in all Italy for trade, with which it flourished extremely whilst it was a republic. At present, not only the city, but the country belonging to it, is wholly depopulated. Writers say, that there were formerly above one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, whereas now there are not twelve thousand. The grass grows in most of the places and streets of the city ; and most of the houses are deserted, and lie void. I was myself in a fair large palace, which was let for six pistoles *per annum*. The greatest part of their lands lie waste ; and the air is very unhealthy in most parts, because of the small number of inhabitants. The Duke of Florence thought there was no way to secure himself of this great city, but by depopulating of it, and ruining the trade, which rendered it so potent ; so that at present there is not any trade there at all.

The city of Sienna was also formerly a very fine commonwealth, and had in it many noble, rich, and powerful families ; but since that the Duke of Florence hath reduced it to his obedience, he hath ruined most of the nobility and gentry, many of them retiring into France, and into the territories of some of the princes of Italy.

As to the city of Florence itself, it is extremely decayed to what it was since it came under the government of the house of Medicis. It is plain from the history of Machiavel, and other Italian authors that lived in those times, that it was three times more populous when it was a republic than it is now. The Great Duke keeping his court and residence there, one would think should make the city

city flourish the more; yet it wants a great deal of that lustre and splendour it had when it was a commonwealth.

Remarks upon the temporal government of the Pope.

THere are certainly very few people so miserable as those who live under the dominion of the Pope. Most of the states of Italy, and where there are the most subsidies and impositions, have not put any tax upon corn and grain which make bread; because there is no person, though never so miserable, that can subsist without it. There is that humanity and regard had to the people, in not laying taxes upon bread, because it is the common nourishment, and absolutely necessary even for the most indigent and poor; though impositions are laid without scruple upon wine and other merchandizes, because they are not so necessary as bread. Yet the Pope makes no scruple to lay very great impositions upon corn and bread throughout all his dominions, except in those places that have yet preserved their liberties. It was Donna Olympia that, during the pontificate of Innocent X. began to put taxes and imposts upon corn, and made such laws which have ruined the most part of the great nobility and gentry that live under the ecclesiastical government, who had their revenues consisting in corn. All the Popes who have reigned since Innocent's time, have found such a great advantage to themselves by these laws of Donna Olympia, that they have continued them ever since; and it is at present a very considerable part of the ecclesiastical revenue. The substance of which said law or ordinance is this, *That no person whatsoever is suffered to sell corn to any strangers;*

but all those that have any, are obliged to sell it at a price certain to the ecclesiastical chamber; which is not at the most above one moiety of the real value; and then the ecclesiastical chamber sells it again at double the price. In Italy there is no person either in city or country in the Pope's dominions, who is permitted to make their own bread; but every one is obliged to buy it of the bakers who are appointed by the chamber. In each village and borough there is but one baker established by the chamber to make and sell bread. The baker is obliged to take the corn of the chamber at a certain price, and to make the bread of such a quality and weight, and to sell it at a price certain. In the great cities, as at Rome, there are very many bakers, who are all obliged to buy a certain quantity of corn of the ecclesiastical chamber for a whole year to come, which they pay for before-hand, and give ten crowns the same or measure, when at the same time the chamber bought it of the particular persons for five crowns. At the beginning of the year, all the bakers are obliged to take the same quantity of corn for the year ensuing, although sometimes they have a great deal of the last year's corn upon their hands; which they must deliver to the chamber for five crowns the same or measure, and then the very same corn is sold them again for ten crowns. I do not believe that there is any country in the world that draws more profit from their subjects for corn, than the Pope doth in his dominions; which hath been partly the cause of the ruin of the ecclesiastical state since the establishment of the said law, which was about thirty years since. The country is unpeopled, and great part of the lands lie void and uncultivated, because it is not worth while to manure them, when the greatest advantage and profit arising thereby goes to the Pope. In travelling through the ecclesiastical territories in
Romania,

Romania, and between Rome and Naples, there are vast quantities of land unmanured. A traveller, passing through the estate of a Roman prince, told the prince upon his return to Naples, *He would, if he pleased, send him husbandmen that should manure his lands*; thinking it had been for want of labourers that the lands lay void and waste. The prince told him, *That he did not want people to cultivate his lands; but because they were obliged to sell all their corn and grain to the chamber at a very low price, it would not quit cost to manure and cultivate it.*

Touching the reduction of the interest of money due by the Montes at Rome, from four to three per cent.

EVery body almost knows what it is which in Italy, and especially at Rome, they call the *Montes*. It is much like the rents upon the town-house at Paris. The Popes, having occasion for money, borrow great sums of particular persons at four *per cent.* interest. This they call at Rome *the establishment of the Monte*; that is, the creation of certain officers, and the assignment of several rents for the payment of those who have lent money to the Pope. The present Pope, finding the chamber engaged to the annual payments of I know not how many millions of Roman crowns interest to those that had lent money upon the *Monte*, resolved in part to reduce and lessen the great sum of money which the interest amounted to; and, having for this purpose raised several millions of Roman crowns, he acquainted those that had money upon the *Monte*, that they should come and receive their principal money, unless they would take three *per cent.* interest for the four *per cent.* which they for-

merly received: whereupon, there being really no trade in all the ecclesiastical territories, and the lands worth nothing, and the estates of the nobility being all sold to a penny, all persons who had money upon the Monte, not knowing how to employ it to advantage elsewhere, let it there remain, contenting themselves with three *per cent.* instead of four *per cent.* which they had before: so that by this means every one concerned lost a fourth part of their yearly income, and the chamber got I know not how many millions of crowns yearly by this retrenchment of one *per cent.*

It is almost incredible what immense sums the Pope hath raised by retrenching of many superfluous expences, and extinguishing several offices to which great salaries were paid by the ecclesiastical chamber, and by divers other means. Those who are well informed in these matters, do for certain affirm, that all the subsidies which the Pope hath remitted to the Emperor and King of Poland, to carry on the war against the Turks, are not the thirtieth part of the money which he hath treasured up; although likewise he hath paid many debts of the chamber, which were not chargeable upon the Montes.

I ought not here to omit relating, that the inns, especially in Tuscany, in Romania, and between Rome and Naples, are very sordid and incommodious.

One may give a pretty good guess at the prodigious wealth belonging to the clergy in the kingdom of Naples, by the great quantity of plate, vessels, and statues of silver in the churches, and by the riches and magnificent furniture of their habitations, and vestments of the priests. One may, upon the whole matter, make this important reflection, That if the King of Spain doth not think of some expedient to hinder the clergy from increasing

sing their estates in lands, which they do daily, they will in a very little time become masters of the greatest part of the kingdom of Naples; for they are already possessed of more than half of the lands of that kingdom, besides the other vast profits they make continually, under pretence of service to the church, for their masses, buildings, burials, marriages, confessions, and by their indulgencies, and the legacies left them by will.

Though these are remarks made in haste, yet they may be of use to the author.

I know several pleasant stories of the Jesuits at Naples. The Prince of Salerne gave them the moiety of a great house which he had at Naples, and thereupon an inscription was engraven in capital letters upon the frontispiece of the house, of the donation thereof given to the Jesuits by the said prince. Within these few years the Jesuits have turned the heirs of the Prince of Salerne out of possession of the other moiety of the said house, and have defaced the inscription upon the house. And all this they have done by colour of law and justice.

Upon the first establishment of the society of Jesuits, the Carthusians of Naples, who are very rich, voluntarily assigned them a yearly pension of several thousand ducats; but the Carthusians perceiving, that, of late years, several of the Jesuits were grown mighty rich, resolved to withdraw the said pension. The Jesuits went to law with them, and obtained sentence, that the said pension should be continued. The Jesuits have got a very considerable part of the lands of the nobility in the kingdom of Naples. All the religious, of what order soever they be, who have houses at Naples, have the privilege of purchasing all houses that are contiguous to them, on the one side or the other, to the very end of the street, in order to make their houses entire, and to stand alone like an island:
and

